



FRANZ JOSEPH

From the portrait collection of the National Bibliothek, Vienna

FRANZ JOSEPH

FRANZ JOSEPH

AS REVEALED BY HIS LETTERS

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WITH FOUR PORTRAITS
AND TWO FACSIMILES



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“ Wo kommen wir hin wenn jeder Minister seine eigenen Anschauungen der Welt bekannt giebt? ”

FRANZ JOSEPH.

(“ Where should we be landed if every Minister were to acquaint the world with his own opinions? ”)

PREFATORY NOTE

THIS volume is composed of autograph letters of the Emperor Franz Joseph, hitherto unpublished, which have become accessible only since the War. The letters have been selected from the secret documents in the "House, Court, and State Archives" in Vienna.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	I
CHILDHOOD OF FRANZ JOSEPH	36
THE BROTHER: MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO	70
THE MOTHER: ARCHDUCHESS SOPHIE	130
THE GRANDMOTHER: CAROLINE AUGUSTA	132
THE FRIEND: ALBERT OF SAXONY	137
THE ARCHDUKES	179
RUDOLF AND STEPHANIE	186
THE DAUGHTERS	192
EMPRESS ELISABETH	195
FRAU VON SCHRATT	206
THE ROYAL HUNTERS	211
THE EMPEROR ATTENDS TO EVERYTHING	230
THE EMPEROR PRESENTS HIS CONGRATULATIONS	234
THE REIGNING POWER	239
THE EMPEROR AS DIPLOMATIST	272
THE EMPEROR AS GERMANY'S ALLY	280

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FRANZ JOSEPH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna.	
	PAGE
FRANZ JOSEPH'S HANDWRITING	5
FACSIMILE OF LETTER	57
	FACING PAGE
FRANZ JOSEPH AS ARCHDUKE	58
From the drawing by Arthinger in the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna.	
THE YOUNG EMPEROR, FEBRUARY, 1849, THREE MONTHS AFTER HIS ACCESSION	132
From the drawing by Prinzhofer in the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna.	
FRANZ JOSEPH IN THE YEAR 1862	144
From the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna.	

FRANZ JOSEPH

INTRODUCTION

IT is common knowledge that Franz Joseph carried out almost all his transactions in writing. He even exacted written statements as to all matters brought forward for his consideration and decision. Nor was this done solely with a view of quiet deliberation, being due rather to his desire that everything should have its place among the archives. Even particulars contained in verbal reports he liked to have set down in writing, while he himself was in the habit of committing his most ordinary plans to paper in the same way. Owing to this habit many thousands of such documents have come into our hands—the “dead leaves,” so to speak, which had fallen and lay waiting to be swept aside, even as the World-War ruthlessly put an end to the Era of Franz Joseph himself.

It is from these countless documents that we have now selected such as were best suited to our purpose, namely, that of depicting the essentially personal aspect of the Emperor, and, indeed, there is something surprising in the sharp and precise outline which here emerges. The Emperor “lives” in these old documents. Here we have Franz Joseph in person, ranged behind the most impersonal sentences. Franz Joseph, with all his failings and with all his virtues: in all his greatness and his pettiness: with all those limitations which bound him and with all his strange contradictions.

Here, in short, we have all that constituted Franz Joseph, and which—seeing that he was anything but a great man—contributed to make him one who nevertheless was a Leader of the Monarchy.

Everything led up to and was concentrated in the one aim—that of *reigning*: to “reign” was an integral necessity, and this matter of “reigning” was therefore cultivated and developed as a fine art.

It became his calling, and as soon as Franz Joseph had mastered the technicalities involved he pursued it with the never-failing surety of a somnambulist—and with an easy conviction never met with in those who are content to fulfil a merely obligatory routine. Indeed, after having turned over these countless witnesses to his “daily business” in life—this business of reigning, we cannot but feel assured that his pettiness, his narrowness, and his simplicity as a reigning monarch may be said to balance his gifts and his various excellent qualities.

This man was a “Virtuoso”—an Expert—in the matter of manipulating the mechanism of governing. Now, had this been the principal matter of importance, history might have seen cause for placing Franz Joseph I, the great “reigning” monarch, side by side with Louis XIV, whom he indeed in so many ways resembled. But here we must again repeat that it is not our object to present the reader with an historical record, but rather to set forth definite characteristics such as may now for the first time become recognizable through the medium of these letters, while touching also on certain actions and matters concerning the Government as well as the history of the times with which the Emperor was intimately associated, doing so, however, only in so far as may seem indispensable.

It has been our desire throughout this work to treat our hero impartially: the times in which he ascended the throne are now so remote, while he, even during his lifetime, had already to so great an extent assumed the status of an historical figure, that it has been comparatively easy for us to find the historical perspective—especially as we are allowing the Emperor to speak for himself, whenever this is possible. If, therefore, his letters depict him as no more than the average man to whom all higher strivings, all differentiations in the matter of “soul life” are things unknown and ungrasped, yet they will at the same time reveal him as far more independ-

ent, more inclined to "think a thing out" than has hitherto been assumed to be the case. The lack of feeling—of sensibility—so evident in many of these letters cannot be denied, yet, on the other hand, we cannot but recognize that the writer is imbued with a profound sense of the dignity of his position as Head of a Reigning House.

It is for this reason that we must again emphasize the fact that these letters come from the hand of Franz Joseph himself, and that their publication is therefore important in contributing to a more accurate knowledge of the history of our times. Nor are we of opinion that our action in the matter has disturbed any legend where our subject is concerned: every educated person in the two halves of Franz Joseph's empire had long since summed up the Emperor as being very much what these documents show him to have been, and it is only certain special traits that become more pronounced.

Having in this Introduction placed our hero before the reader we shall continue to keep to the same objective mode of letting him speak through his own letters. This manner of procedure may be unusual, but in so doing we are not conscious of making a mistake, and, in place of giving a character sketch illustrated by numerous quotations, we have reversed the order of things and, limiting ourselves to only the most necessary comments, have allowed the Emperor to draw his own portrait.

We shall begin by citing the manner in which the Emperor's more public activities were sub-divided and arranged—the details of such activities being found in the body of this volume itself.

The reproduction on p. 5 gives a specimen of Franz Joseph's handwriting. The letters "Fj", which initial it, stand as the Emperor's signature. His handwriting is always the same and the paper he uses is of the fine quality used by the Ministry and bears the Cabinet's special watermark. Year in year out similar sheets by the thousand came from the Emperor's hand: telegrams and letters—Commands—Inquiries—CongratulATIONS—Condolences—comments of a familiar and intimate nature—directions issued to his Govern-

ment—replies to petitions for mercy : all jumbled up together, just as these matters happened to have been brought before him in the course of the day's work.

The Emperor rose early and was seated at his writing-table betimes. On his desk ready to hand would be lying a large sheet of paper, secured to its place by drawing-pins. In the earliest days this matter had been attended to by the Emperor's adjutant-general, but was subsequently made the business of the Cabinet Council. Upon this sheet and in the most immaculate of handwriting was set down the Programme for the Day, a carefully and minutely devised daily scheme in which every minute was elaborately planned out. There was the list of Birthdays ; the congratulations and condolences which would have to be dispatched ; arrangements for Family Meetings, and further reminders such as, for instance, that such and such a Member of the Emperor's Household was ill and that it would therefore be obligatory to inquire after his condition. There were also other aids to memory—matters already known to the Emperor but of which he had expressed a desire to be reminded, such as that on such and such a day it would be about time for him to inquire as to the progress being made in the work of drafting some new law and similar elaborations. This sheet was, in fine, a Memorandum for the Emperor, not a very up-to-date one, perhaps, yet sufficiently useful to admit of being easily perused and grasped. And to these various reminders the Emperor was in the habit of adding his marginal notes, such as the following :—

INTRODUCTION

5



Monsieur le Comte
du 20^{ème} Novembre

Madame la Comtesse
Her Majesty the Queen Margaret of Italy.

Je vous prie de faire passer
par votre bienveillante médiation
mon salut

Small Coat-of-Arms
stamped in relief.
Adjutant-General to
H.M. the Emperor and King.

TO-MORROW, THURSDAY, 20TH NOV.
Birthday of Her Majesty Queen MARGARET of ITALY.
(then beneath in pencilled handwriting)
Please draft a French telegram for me—using “thou”.

Fj.

Then, the draft having been submitted, it was read and corrected by the Emperor, and among the many thousands of such drafts for telegrams and letters passing through our hands there has hardly been one which has not borne some trace of Franz Joseph's subsequent corrections. Sometimes he has altered a sentence, but often, not only a sentence, but whole paragraphs are sacrificed to his passion for "correcting." The majority of such documents submitted were dealt with by himself and by means of the telegraph, rather than in writing. But even here the most superficial perusal of his manuscript is significant. His briefest draft for a telegram always bore the full title of the Addressee—without any abbreviation whatsoever: there was nothing left out for his secretary to decipher, not even in the case of the most usual abbreviations. When, however, Franz Joseph *does* elect to curtail the title of an Addressee there is always some definite reason for so doing, and this reason—either touching the person or the subject—can be found within the message itself.

Indeed it soon becomes most obvious that here nothing was ever done without some definite cause. Thus—the fact that an Addressee in one telegram may be given his full name and title, as well as his right degree, and in another fobbed off with a far more curt mode of address, becomes a matter which to the initiate is full of meaning.

There can also be little doubt that the Emperor attached great importance to these questions, and it was to the composition of such drafted addresses that Franz Joseph devoted much of his attention—for most of them bear evidence of his own personal corrections.

It is well-known that throughout his life he never used the telephone. Telegraphy, however, which had become popular in his day—and which also aged with him, remained to the last one of his favourite mediums of intercourse and communication. As a matter of fact it was only in later years and then only somewhat unwillingly that the Emperor gave his permission for a telephone to be installed in a room next to his own study, yet it is unlikely that he ever handled the receiver himself. Telegraphic intercourse was therefore maintained with all the Government Departments of which the

offices were in the immediate vicinity of the Burg, and by retaining the drafts he managed to derive a twofold satisfaction—accelerating matters without sacrificing the bureaucratic sense. Franz Joseph never omitted to state whether he desired cipher to be used or not, and—in the latter case—he was in the habit of conscientiously adding the direction—“*in claris.*”

Not only was the Emperor versed in all the most trivial of technical matters where office work was concerned, but he also took the greatest interest in it. At times he would himself issue certain precise details as to the manner in which some particulars were to be executed, or he would seek information as to how and by whom on some particular day such and such duties had been carried out.

From the Emperor's hands a telegram passed to the Court Secretary and from him to the Court Telegraph-Officials, by whom it was at once speedily dispatched. These Court telegrams took precedence of all others, so that when travelling or at the manœuvres (for the Emperor worked with the same regularity wherever he might be) all his inquiries were sure to be answered within a few hours of their dispatch.

Court Telegraph Offices were to be found everywhere: at Schönbrunn, the castle at Ofen, at Ischl, at Gödöllő, at Miramar and elsewhere; and they made use of a particular telegraphic form which, in Austria, bore a German heading, and in Hungary, one similarly worded, only in the language of that country.

As the Emperor was in the habit of undertaking frequent journeys this constant change of *milieu*—necessitated by the special conditions of his Realm—contributed to the somewhat old-fashioned stamp which marked the period of his reign. His Court was ever reminiscent of a bygone feudalism: of days when a Sovereign could hardly be said to have had any fixed abode and was obliged—according to the exigencies of the situation and the limited means of communication—to travel from place to place in order to carry out the duties of his position, even to the extent of “levying tribute” for his Civil List. For Franz Joseph was always accompanied by the paraphernalia of his entire Court whenever he went to Budapest and Gödöllő, and even when his journeys took

him beyond his own realms he was never without the attendance of several High Officials as well as of numerous Secretaries.

THE HAND OF THE EMPEROR

We shall now give an example of the manner in which this Working-Apparatus functioned, and of the connexion it bore to his Sovereignty over the Dual Monarchy.

The Telegram to Prince Windischgrätz, a facsimile of which is to be found on p. 5, bears the date of its dispatch (it was issued about midday), as well as the name of the place from which it was sent, namely Cap Martin. During March, 1894, the Emperor together with the Empress, the Archduchess Maria Josepha, the Bavarian Prince, Karl Theodor, and Countess Trani, was staying on the Riviera. The imperial yacht, "Greif," had conveyed the royal party to their destination at Cap Martin, where they stayed at the Hotel du Cap, whence they took frequent pleasure trips on board the yacht. At Villefranche, where the French Fleet lay, the ships had been dressed in honour of the exalted guests and a royal salute welcomed the white vessel. One of these trips was to the Île Marguerite, and included a visit to the famous prison where the Hero of the Iron Mask—that mysterious prisoner of the Bastille—had during the eighteenth century been for a short time incarcerated, and where—after 1871—Marshal Bazaine, the luckless Commandant of Metz, had also suffered imprisonment. Towards evening the "Greif" returned to Cap Martin with its illustrious guests. The Commander of the royal yacht gave a fine display of fireworks; a Hungarian Gipsy-band, then playing at the Cap, was sent for, and the Emperor and Empress—amid this jubilation of rockets and music—entered the boat manned by the white-clad sailors of the "Greif," who, bearing flaming torches in their hands, escorted the royal party up to the Hotel du Cap.

On the next day Franz Joseph was seated at his writing-table again—precisely at the same hour as was his habit at the Burg at Vienna. He read over the newspaper cuttings which had been carefully prepared for him; looked through a couple of journals and then sent the following telegram to

his Austrian Prime Minister, Prince Alfred Windischgrätz :—

PRIME MINISTER PRINCE WINDISCHGRÄTZ AT
VIENNA (in cipher)

I trust that the Interpellation brought forward by Bianchini with regard to a mobilization against Serbia will be sharply criticized, and that the use of the expression "Croatian Troops" will be severely censured.

Fj.

Exp. Cap Martin, 11/3. 1894. 11.40 a.m.

verte.

The Court Secretary's facsimile bears the written remark : "verte!" which is obviously meant for "wenden!" (i.e. "turn over"), for we read on the back of this sheet the reply :—

Pro Domo.

March 11th, 7 p.m.; reply to hand (in cipher). I have the honour humbly to inform (your Majesty) that I shall reply to the Interpellation at to-morrow's Sitting censuring the same severely.

WINDISCHGRÄTZ.

At midday the Emperor's telegraphic command had been dispatched and by the same evening the Prime Minister's reply was already lying on the Emperor's desk at Cap Martin. On the 11th of March the Emperor had called his Minister's attention to the indiscreet utterances of this South-Slav politician—and on the very next day, 12th March, the Emperor's orders were already being carried out—and moreover, in exactly the manner the Emperor—distant at Cap Martin—had desired. In the morning issue of the "Neuer Wiener Tageblatt" that Journal, dealing with the transactions of the Imperial House of Legislation, alludes to the Sitting of the 12th March and cites the Prime Minister's reply to Bianchini's Interpellation. Thus flawlessly did the Emperor's Official Apparatus function; for not only had Prince Windischgrätz brought the matter before Parliament and as early as possible given official utterance to his reply—exactly in the

form his royal Master had wished—but he had further, as would appear, known how suitably to instruct the Press.

It is probable that the Emperor was already privy to the heading given to the Government Report touching this matter, namely—"A Repudiated Persecution," since such a heading would be calculated to suggest that Bianchini had raised the question and even gone so far himself as to stigmatize the 13th (Agram) Corps as "Croatian" troops, in spite of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Dr. Wekerle, having officially denied the rumour of any mobilization against Serbia being contemplated.

This rumour seems to have originated in Serbia. It was bruited abroad that the Monarchy contemplated mobilizing two frontier corps, and that Serbia was to be their objective. An English newspaper got wind of this news and gave expression to some uneasiness on the subject in face of all contradictory reports, while Bianchini, launching his Interpellation, was obviously making political capital for his own ends by fanning the local excitement.

The "Publicist" for the year 1894 directed its voice decisively against this "bullying" attitude assumed on both sides. Yet it was for the Prime Minister to bring the matter to its final conclusion by employing a judicial admixture of severity and wit:—

"M. Bianchini," he observed, "has not hesitated to make an assertion which has drawn forth denials from every side and which even on the 6th March probably no one person will have taken seriously—unless it be that gentleman himself." (Laughter.) "The Monarchy," continued the Minister, "harboured no intentions against the integrity of Serbia"—this being his oft-repeated phrase, and then the question of those "Croatian" troops, as to which he had been bidden administer severe censure was broached:—

"I take this occasion to caution emphatically those who would apply this name to the 13th Imperial Army Corps." (Lively approval.) "The Imperial Army, and all its component parts—its separate units—is a power subordinated to the command of its supreme War Lord"—(renewed applause)—"a power which knows no other interests than those of fulfilling this supreme duty" (renewed applause), etc.

The Emperor aboard his yacht on the Riviera—surrounded by gipsy-bands and fireworks—had seen fit to give the word and Vienna had promptly obeyed orders :—Government, Parliament, Press—every one of them.

Such was the Machinery of the Constitution : thus it worked—that is to say—when it worked at all.

Forty-six years had passed by since the Revolution of 1849, when the Constitution had been at stake, but in the issue of the “ Publicist ” containing a report of the Emperor’s holiday-trip and of his Prime Minister’s speech in the House, both the Leader and the Feuilleton for the day were dedicated to the Memory of those March Heroes, to the men who had in those bygone days fought and suffered for National Freedom and for their Constitutional Rights. . . .

His various “ Nationalities ” and his cities did not, it is true, always obey him quite as willingly as did his Prime Minister, and there are numerous documents which go to prove that—on those occasions—Franz Joseph did not hesitate to call upon his Government—bidding them act with a severity such as he deemed in keeping with his conscientious duty. The primary business of a Prime Minister was to keep order.

Towards the close of the summer of 1883 Budapest was the centre scene of very serious disturbances, while—almost at the same time—the suburbs of Vienna became restless. At that time—the beginning of the “ Eighties ”—a wave of social revolution, rising first in the United States, spread even as far as Eastern Europe, for it was then that the Young Labour Movement began to stir and stretch its limbs. The curious form taken by the disturbances in Budapest can only be understood if we take into consideration how very slight was the social development then obtaining in those parts. The masses, which had not as yet been absorbed into the great manufacturing centres, and which—totally unorganized—constituted the suffering and struggling population of the suburbs, had been roused to the highest pitch of excitement by a mythical tale of a “ ritual murder,” and by the astounding Ritual Murder Trial taking place at Tiszaeszl . Bellowing the anti-semitic parrot-cry of the day these people ran amok in the city, rioting and plundering. Two popular Journalists of the

day, Istoczy and Verhovay, belonging to the anti-semitic party, headed these looting expeditions—while Hungary's Social Democratic Party, which then counted no more than a couple or so of members, held aloof—though protesting against these proceedings.

The Government, under Prime Minister Koloman Tisza, was much taken by surprise at these serious outbreaks as was the Commissioner of Police, M. Thaisz, although there seems to be every reason to suppose that they had been carefully prepared. Indications were not wanting too, that certain subordinate officials were in secret sympathy with the movement, for on every occasion both the soldiery and the Police arrived on the scenes of rioting when it was practically too late to interfere; thus, for three days Budapest was a prey to this disgraceful state of affairs. Then the Emperor took action himself:—

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA IN
BUDAPEST (Cipher)

I trust that the repetitions of these excesses—now going on for the last three nights—will be put an end to. I beg you to consult the Military Commander with a view to making free efficient use of the troops.

Fj.

Exp. Ischl, 10/8. 1883. 4.45 p.m.

After this, an orderly state of things soon supervened, but—to the Emperor's great annoyance—news from Vienna was again to disturb his summer-holiday at Ischl. Now, the cause and nature of these disturbances taking place at one and the same time in Vienna and Budapest are significant of the differences between the two cities. The Vienna Police had for several weeks already been on their guard, being aware that certain small Labour Meetings were being convened for the purpose of protesting against what they deemed to be over-severe measures then being taken by the Government—measures particularly directed against the Workers' Press organs. These Meetings were therefore subjected to a very strict control, and the organ of the Socialist party, "Die

Zukunft," was daily suppressed. Then, on 10th August, towards 7 p.m., the Workers congregated in the Votiv-Park, assembling also on the steps of the Votiv-Church. According to the newspaper reports the crowd consisted mainly of "Kappel-Buben"—a name given to the cap-wearing young workmen from the suburbs—and of these youths there may have been a thousand or more present. Suddenly the word of command was given, and the assembled crowd started marching towards the Schottentor, where a hostile demonstration was made against the Head of the Police. Here, however, a contingent of Police were ready to meet them, to say nothing of a detachment of Dragoons and some Infantry. Soon stone-throwing was answered by sabre-cuts—and in ten minutes the street was cleared. One constable had been stabbed, many demonstrators had been injured, and some forty-two arrests had been made. Then the Emperor having been duly informed of this skirmish at the Schottentor (presumably in Taaffe's morning report) sent the following wire to Vienna on 11th August before noon:—

THE EMPEROR, TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE,
IN VIENNA (Cipher)

I desire particulars as to the cause of yesterday's excesses, and desire also that those under arrest may be promptly and severely punished.

Fj.

Exp. Ischl, 11/8. 1883. 11.45 a.m.

And the participators *were* duly and "severely punished." The Emperor regarded himself as the Supreme Court of Appeal, and as such it was incumbent on him to watch over the welfare of his people. He also saw in himself their Protector, and was at such times the active Instigator of public benevolence; as, for instance:—

THE EMPEROR TO DIVISIONAL-CHEF VON PAPAY, IN
VIENNA

I should be glad to know whether the Ministry has received an account of the damage done by the hailstorm in Eastern

Galicia, and whether assistance will be needed, or has been organized.

Fj.

Exp. Ischl, 14.7. 1890. 11.45 a.m.

At times also Franz Joseph considered it incumbent on him to take measures for the welfare of his subjects—so that they should not be too greatly neglected by his Ministers:—

THE EMPEROR AND KING TO THE MINISTER OF THE
INTERIOR VON HIERONYMI, IN BUDAPEST (Cipher)

I desire a careful report in respect of the cholera raging in Hungary and wish also to be informed as to what steps are being taken in this matter—more particularly where the railway-buildings at Marmaros are in question.

Fj.

Exp. Hda. Ischl, 9/8. 1892.

Then follows:—

Report from the Hungarian Minister for the Interior—on 11/8. 1892. Cab. 7. 3580.

As may be seen, the Emperor was the most conscientious of Head-clerks—a Civil-Servant of the very best sort. He knew well enough that his subordinates were only likely to work when his eye was steadily fixed upon them. We doubt, however, whether—even in the present day—it would be possible to do anything to avert the ravages of cholera at Marmaros, if once they had taken a hold. For this district even to-day is one of the most god-forsaken places in all Europe. Yet, Franz Joseph had so far “done his duty” in that he had demanded an immediate report from the Minister of the Interior—and, as seen, two days later this gentleman delivered the same, verbatim, at Ischl.

A DINNER, A PONY, AND A BOX OF CIGARS

In addition to his Monarchy, Franz Joseph reigned over another realm—and this comprised his family, the Habsburgs, the members of which provided him with quite as much trouble

—not to say as many sorrows, annoyances and difficulties, as did the countries which came beneath his sway. In his old age these members had become estranged from him: he had then ceased to anticipate aught but unpleasantness from that quarter and it became indeed a matter of congratulation when a twelvemonth passed without some family scandal. He took his responsibilities as Head of the family as seriously as he did those of a reigning Sovereign: always showing the same conscientious sense of duty in their discharge. We may say indeed that he “reigned” over his family, for in this connexion he exacted the same strict, rigid, and time-honoured forms, while devoting much personal time and trouble to the administration of such family affairs. It may seem almost incredible that, in the midst of pressing matters of state-interest, he yet almost always sent out the telegrams of invitation to private family functions himself! Here we have the draft of such a message:—

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.H. THE CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH, IN
LAXENBURG

We shall be delighted to see both you and Stephanie on Saturday, after our arrival, at 5 o'clock, at Mama's—where we shall dine in strict privacy. We embrace you both cordially.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R.H. DUKE KARL THEODOR OF BAVARIA,
IN VIENNA

We shall be pleased if you and Marie José will join us at Sisi's after our arrival at 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, for a strictly private family dinner.

Fj.

Exp. Gödöllő, 2.12. 1886. 7 o'clock a.m.

That he should have attended personally to all these invitations is significant of the importance he attached to such family meetings. There was something tedious and ceremonial about these affairs owing to the antiquated traditions of the House of Habsburg. Yet it also gives a hint of the extreme courteousness for which Franz Joseph had so great a reputation. In this instance it had been a case of visiting his

wife, the Empress ("Sisi"—as Elisabeth of Austria was familiarly called in the intimacy of her own family), and her son as well as other relatives were being bidden. Therefore as he was in the act of returning from his Hungarian visit it was for *him* to issue those invitations to the members of the family, who were to meet at his wife's.

Elisabeth, the Empress, who has been made the subject of so many legendary tales, was "Sisi" to her husband, and for Rudolph "Mama." Yet, though ceremonious forms of address have relaxed since the days when a French king was wont to give the Dauphin—as well as other Princes of the Blood—their full title when speaking to them, Franz Joseph ever adhered to the old rigid rules, and in all communications these were upheld to the end. When, therefore, Rudolph announced that he and his wife were coming to Gödöllő his father felt it incumbent on him to tell his son that his Mother—the actual Châtelaine of Gödöllő Castle—would be pleased to put them up for one night, and that for the rest of their stay in Hungary the Castle at Ofen "will—as goes without saying—be at your disposal." Thus—

THE EMPEROR TO H.R.H. THE CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH, IN
VIENNA

Sincerest thanks for your letter : Mama will be delighted to see you on the third at Gödöllő, and hopes that you will spend a night here. Apartments in the Castle at Ofen—it goes without saying—at your disposal hereafter. We embrace you affectionately.

Fj.

Exp. Gödöllő, 28.II. 1887. 9 a.m.

Though the arrangement was one which naturally "went without saying," formal inquiry and an equally formal permission had to be exchanged, nor could the ceremonious invitation from the Lady of the House, as well as that of the Lord of the Castle at Ofen, be dispensed with. And this between an only son and his parents !

After perusing a considerable number of letters written by Franz Joseph we come to see that this "goes without saying"

on the part of the writer is more than a mere *façon de parler*—the phrase is one carefully chosen, for in it Franz Joseph—while graciously condescending—would yet have his family know. . . . ! And yet, on the other side, the Emperor never received a letter from his son for which in carefully chosen words of affection he does not thank him. In fine—the family was—in their life and habits—expected to serve as a model to the people, exemplifying also the power and sovereign will of the Emperor himself. The Archdukes *did* model their lives upon these conventional lines—and the fate of these Archdukes has been about as unpleasant as it was unenviable, while to be their Chief was hardly better. They were far more dependent upon his will than his Army officers were. We append a copy of the decree in which Franz Joseph gave permission for the sick Franz Ferdinand to go abroad:—

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.H. FRANZ FERDINAND AT MINDSZENT,
NEAR RAAB

Hearty thanks for your letter and good wishes: I consent to your going to Sweden.

Fj.

Exp. 17.8. 2 o'clock p.m.

The life led by this family was probably unlike that of any other people. While possibly more dignified, it excelled in wearisome monotony—it was certainly different. The atmosphere of the tomb surrounded "Sisi"—this "Mama" and this "Papa." At the same time we are bound to consider the half-instinctive, half-conscious art which must have lain at the back of this capacity for exacting the respect of a population numbering several millions of subjects: and not alone the respect for, but the belief in, a God-given right to Sovereignty. For it was the *technique* of this business in which a thousand years of steady practice had caused the Habsburger to become so great a Past-Master at his Craft.

From the Far East had come, once-upon-a-time, those hierarchical forms of sovereignty which had distinguished the Courts of the Roman Empire. After which one who was not even a king—but a mere Ruler—Cardinal Richelieu—set him-

self with consummate art to develop this *technique* of "prestige." It reached its summit in the reign of Louis XIV, and his era may be said to count as the classic period of modern Court Ceremony. The smallest potentate of the very smallest German Principality would not have dreamed—even in moments of the most intimate confidences—of addressing the lady, who was presumably his Mistress, otherwise than as *Madame la Comtesse*. Between those times, however, and that of Franz Joseph had lain the French Revolution—to say nothing of the philistine sentimentalities of a Rousseau: and the reign of Frederick the Great. He, it is true, was also a despot; but he slaved away at his affairs of state as very few officials would be found to do, and it was *his* example that Franz Joseph was ever mindful to emulate. Hence the bureaucratic existence led by each successor to the Habsburg Throne from Joseph II onwards. In this sense we may indeed say that Frederick II occupied the place of a sort of "deity" at the Court of Vienna—and, with unquestioning faith, he was exalted to serve as an incomparable model. Franz Joseph, the Civil Servant-Emperor, whose life coincided with the epoch of philistine morality, had a harder task to preserve his prestige as a Sovereign than any of his forbears who had worn that Crown for the past two hundred years.

Yet, the fact that he *did* manage to preserve his position may be wholly and solely ascribed to this consummate skill in the art of maintaining his prestige. It is not that he was averse from those changes which an altered condition of things had brought about; or that he aspired to be nothing less than a "Romantic upon the Throne," after the fashion of King Frederick William IV. The curious thing is that he even managed to adapt these novel circumstances to the service of his particular system of Governing, and in this way added to its perfections.

In a transformed age, one that had become philistine, and bourgeois, it was incumbent on the Ruler that he also should be a "good bourgeois," the Head of the Family, and the Chief Official in his own Realms; and as such, he knew how to inoculate his sovereignty with a sufficiently strong dose of "middle-class" serum.

His "Virginia"—his glass of "Pilsener"—his dry roll for breakfast—and all those various other little everyday ingredients which went to make up the routine of Franz Joseph's life never caused him to deflect by one hair's-breadth from his accustomed Olympian Majesty. Indeed, he saw no reason why he should not be a Monarch "by Grace of God"—and a comfortable Philistine at the same time . . . and that these small bourgeois amenities were by no means matters of indifference to him may be seen by the following telegram:—

THE EMPEROR AND KING TO H.I.R.H. PRINCESS VALÉRIE,
AT WELS

A box of cigars has arrived addressed to me; and as this is most probably the one mentioned by Mama as being meant for Franz, please send me a wire to say if a similar parcel has already arrived at Lichtenegg.

Fj.

Expd. 22.I. 1894. 11 a.m.

Now why should the Emperor have been so concerned? Was it about his son-in-law . . . or about those cigars? And in the next telegram we find his anxiety divided between his daughter—for whose children he had bought two ponies—and the fact that one of these little beasts had shown sign of sickness, and that consequently the dispatch of his gift was delayed.

* THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS GISELA
OF BAVARIA, AT MUNICH

One of the little horses is under treatment, owing to an external injury: regret therefore that they cannot be dispatched to Munich for the next ten days. The day and hour will be telegraphed to Perfall by Prince Taxis. I embrace you affectionately.

Fj.

Exp. Budapest, 15/3. 1889. 12.15.

We may gauge the importance the Emperor attached to this incident of the pony's indisposition since he delegated the final business arrangements to his own brother-in-law, Prince Taxis!

THE EMPEROR IN HIS TENDER MOOD

It would be difficult to imagine two persons of such essentially different natures as were Franz Joseph and Elisabeth.

The Emperor, dry, business-like, practical and unapproachable: a man for whom the world contained only such questions as to which the terms "good" or "bad" might be applied—quite regardless of the fact that those questions in themselves might conceivably present problems. For Art, or indeed, for any higher impulse, he possessed no feeling whatever, being, in fact, strangely insensible to it. He was a disciplined yet at the same time uninspired soldier, in whom the only thing differentiating him from his own officers of inferior rank, was a certain familiarity with the technical side of Army matters, this being due to the routine of many years' service. He further possessed an inborn as well as acquired sense of dignity which he knew well how to assume when dealing with others (although all such intercourse was rare) and we may add that his urbanity was never failing.

The Empress's traditional and romantic charm was indeed her "dowry," so to speak; and here the contrast which had existed between the parents of Franz Joseph, became accentuated in the case of Franz Joseph himself and Elisabeth. Yet the special energy so conspicuously apparent in that first strange alliance between the Houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach had now reverted to the former. For while Archduchess Sophie's strong emotional character and lively fantasy gave her the power to will and act, and compelled her husband, Franz Karl, to take the back seat, Franz Joseph—having inherited that strong will—made constant use of it and ruled, not only because it was his business to—but because he liked it.

Elisabeth, on the other hand, wounded by life itself, relinquished her position at the court, as well as in the family, without a struggle, preferred henceforward to roam—an aimless Wanderer—about the world. Ever sensible to artistic impressions, this supersensitive woman might fitly be likened to a symbol of *Weltschmerz* (such as is no longer *à la mode*) as she journeyed hither and thither about this earth—a prey to constant disillusionment. She stands at the head of all the misunderstood women; and—like a crowned Madame Bovary—

—she travels incognito, ever bearing in her heart the haunting rhythms of a Heine and the folksongs of a Neo-Greek people. It was a family tragedy—yet one which in all probability Franz Joseph, with that “robustness” common to him, never came near realizing; one which in any case he very soon managed to “get over,” finding ample consolation in his connexion with Frau von Schratt, who stood so immeasurably nearer to him in every way.

Franz Joseph forms the central figure of a series of legends wherein he stands transformed into a “Knight of Ancient Days.” This notion of chivalry was quite in keeping with his spiritual prudery as well as with his lack of sensibility—which was, in truth, nothing less than a certain coarseness—and it therefore served at times to mitigate what might otherwise have been accounted as harsh and insulting. Here we have to do with as “mixed” a character as was that of his far more brilliant and successful double, Louis XIV, who, whenever he met one of the parlour-maids in the corridors of Versailles, was in the habit of standing aside and doffing his hat.

Franz Joseph was incapable of understanding the exotic nature of this extraordinary woman who had become his wife—and the mother of his children, but he treated Elisabeth with a courtesy that knew no limits—which never flagged, and against which no complaint whatsoever can be levelled. Never did he inveigh against the Empress’s frequent “tantrums,” however much these must have estranged him from her. Never—at least so it would seem—did he remonstrate at her lavish expenditures: if the Empress expressed a wish—“it went without saying” that that wish was fulfilled.

The Empress was of a poetical disposition and so the gallant Emperor felt himself constrained from time to time to undertake flights of a similar nature. As—for instance . . .

THE EMPEROR TO H.M. THE EMPRESS, AT MIRAMAR, NEAR
TRIESTE

I arrived safely at Landskron: the weather is lovely and my thoughts are with you, accompanying you upon the blue seas.

Fj.

Expd. 2 Sept. 1894.

Is it not refreshing to happen on a draft for a telegram such as this among the many dry-as-dust messages that have passed through our hands? though we may surmise that that great diurnal Memorandum-sheet may possibly have contained some such marginal-note in the Emperor's own hand, such as—"to-day poetic wire to Sisi" . . . and having conscientiously carried out this intention, he, as a matter of course, adds the draft to those other documents which have gone to fill the secret Archives.

Indeed, the very wording of this telegram conjures up the image of some rural lieutenant of the "Old Guard," who, acting on Higher Command, has been constrained—at his peril—to "put it poetically" . . . Yet, even here, the true note is absent, for Franz Joseph talks *of the weather*! Wherever his own journeys might take him, be it to Ofen, or to Gödöllő, on a shooting expedition, or to the manœuvres, he never omitted to inform his wife—as she flitted restlessly from place to place—whether it was hot or cold, whether it was raining or the sun shining: and, during the winter months, Elisabeth was kept duly posted as to how many degrees of frost were being registered. We shall only give one of these "weather-telegrams"; one in the draft of which—in addition to the meteorological reports sent to the Empress—there is further the draft of a telegram of inquiry sent to Frau Schratt.

At the time the Emperor drafted these messages he was staying at his Castle at Ofen, the Empress being at the Achilleion, on the Island of Corfu, and Frau Schratt at the Villa Felicitas, at Ischl. And here it should be observed that the Emperor has discreetly severed these two drafts—both destined for those who shared his tenderest emotions—by the bold dividing stroke of his pencil:—

These telegrams run as follows:—

L'EMPEREUR D'AUTRICHE À S.M. L'IMPÉRATRICE D'AUTRICHE,
À CORFU

I have just arrived at Budapest in the best of health.
Weather very fine and cold.

Fj.

FRAU KATHARINA V. KISS-SCHRATT, AT ISCHL, VILLA FELICITAS

Have you reached Ischl safely ? and how are you ?

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Exp. 16.9. 1894. 6.45 a.m.

This telegram, it will be noticed, quite contrary to his usual habit, bears his full signature of "Franz Joseph." Has this any special significance? Yes, it has: it is the *amende* for not being able to put:—

"The Emperor to Frau von Kiss-Schratt, actress at the Burg-Theatre."

In his message to the Empress he sends her a report about himself—but when it comes to communicating with Frau Schratt, he begs to be informed how *she* is. These few words sent to her say next to nothing, yet they breathe a certain warmth—a discreet, yet true tenderness. Indeed, this second telegram—when compared with the one above it—seems very like a confession.

But then, Frau Katharina Schratt was a simple, cheerful, lively, clever unassuming woman; not distinguished, yet typically "Viennese." She certainly had nothing "poetic" about her, but she possessed all the amiability and charm of the smaller bourgeoisie as found in Vienna. She was his "Queen of Hearts" and she, too, needed him. Fate had dowered him with one curious gift—whether for his own happiness, or for more sinister reasons, who shall say?—there was nothing that caused the Habsburg family so great a dread—where the strictures of Franz Joseph came in question—as their unhappy love-affairs, that curious tendency of theirs to seek connubial happiness in a lower station of life. This "nostalgie de la roture" seemed to obsess these people; one after another they experienced their "affaires de coeur" and with the same inevitable results. To-day it is an Archduke; to-morrow an Archduchess; each following a passion which in most cases landed them in a middle-class *milieu*, and was either accompanied by scandal or followed by flight. Seldom do we find a case where the choice has been renunciation. Yet

each time also have the rigid traditions of a Spanish Court suffered under the strain of such a blow.

Is it that the luxurious bourgeois life of Vienna thus sought to take revenge on the Imperial House—dazzling the eyes of these Habsburgers with dreams of a philistine Viennese bliss? or can it have been an omen that the proud race then already coming to an end was itself conscious of the change even before the event, as birds are said to anticipate an earthquake? Whatever the reason may have been, Vienna had for generations acted like an intoxicant upon the members of the Habsburg family—indeed, the strong hold it had taken on them becomes fairly evident when even Franz Joseph—a Graven Image upon a throne—is seen to have been unable to resist its insidious powers. And thus Franz Joseph, too, falls a victim to the family complaint—to this “nostalgie de la roture”—the disease in his particular case pointing to the name of Schratt. But, even here, Franz Joseph knew how to set an example and proved that it is quite possible to be Emperor of Austria, and—a weak man, at one and the same time. And here we may say, that his connexion with this lady was ever distinguished for its dignity. This may in a measure have been due to the natural coldness of his nature, yet more still should the credit be accorded to the lady herself, with whom his relations—continuing as they did, to the close of his life—never at any time threatened to harm the Empire.

A HUNTING EXPEDITION IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ISCHL

Happy in the enjoyment of his freedom, Franz Joseph arrives at Ischl. It is the opening of the hunting-season—and the chase is his one true and great passion.

This has been so from time immemorial with all great Rulers and Aristocrats. But Franz Joseph was more particularly addicted to this manly sport: he entered whole-heartedly into its pursuit, and was for the time being solely and entirely the Huntsman, freed from all other interests and anxieties. Indeed, hunting was the one absorbing occupation with which even the weightiest affairs were not allowed to interfere.

A letter lying before us recounts a five days' expedition

undertaken in the vicinity of Ischl. It is a business-like and somewhat terse report, devoid of any embellishments in the way of allusions to "the beauties of Nature" or any other similar expressions of feeling, but it is at the same time a most excellent report and gives a clear picture of those sportsmanlike qualities which so distinguished the participator. Any contributor to a sporting-journal might have sent this report with a clean conscience.

As we have already said, Franz Joseph has arrived at Ischl—happy at having placed distance between himself and the Great World—for the time being. His guests for the shoot are already here—awaiting him. These comprise two parties. The more "exalted" guests, and the "gentlemen" of his *entourage* are about to share the pleasures of the field with the Emperor of Austria.

Among the former are two friends of Franz Joseph's: Ferdinand, the last Duke of Tuscany—"good Nando," as the Emperor was wont to call him—and Albert, Crown Prince of Saxony, the Emperor's cousin. It is significant of Franz Joseph's love for this sport—the one which all his life lay nearest to his heart—that the man who had always been dearest to him—Albert the subsequent King of Saxony—(and one whom no one ever replaced in his affections) should have been equally enthusiastic as a sportsman, for the link strengthened the bond between them.

These two men understood each other, and it is probable that to none other—neither wife, nor son, nor his most trusted Soldiers—did he ever show such whole-hearted confidence as to this princely relative. The Hunting Season was therefore the time when Franz Joseph could freely open his heart. This bond of sympathy was strengthened by memories of all those hundreds of stags and chamois they had mutually accounted for.

This particularly explicit letter—the one we have selected as a specimen for publication from among many others of its kind—owes its detailed nature to the fact that on this occasion Prince Albert had been absent from this deer-stalking expedition, and Franz Joseph therefore felt himself in duty bound to render his good friend a faithful account of all the pleasures

he had missed, more especially as he himself was shortly to return to Schönbrunn: "to the arms of his dear ones," as he puts it, "yet also to the 'claws' of those affairs of state there awaiting him."

The entire neighbourhood of Ischl was an Imperial preserve, being carefully cared for and tended as such. At the time with which this letter deals Archduke Max was also one of the "exalted" guests who attended these shoots with the utmost regularity. This Archduke, who in no way resembled his brother, differed from him here too—in that he was a wretchedly bad shot. In addition to Archduke Max, those present were the Minister of War, Count Degenfeld; one of the Princes Hohenlohe; the gentlemen in attendance on the Archduke, and the chief master of the Hunt, as well as several others.

The night was spent in the shooting-box at Offensee, and a start made at daybreak. Innumerable beaters formed a circle around the preserve which was to be the particular scene of their exploits. Beaters and Hunters were in regular attendance at Ischl, even on occasions when the Emperor went out stalking alone, yet these were never expected to obtrude their presence.

At the start the beating was carried on openly, for this was in October, and therefore the rutting season. Incidentally, a little chamois-hunting was to be indulged in, although it was still too early for much sport of that kind. Ordinary mortals would in general have had to set to work with greater care, for—as shown by this candid account of Franz Joseph's—young chamois and their dams were indiscriminately shot down, although there is a law advising Huntsmen as to how many bucks and how many does may fall to their guns, the rest having to go untouched. Indeed the Emperor shows signs of being apologetic on this score, confessing to Albert that in bringing down one doe, he had really been under the impression that it must be a buck, owing to its size.

The faithful attachment Franz Joseph ever maintained for this hereditary hunting-ground at Ischl is remarkable, for in later years it was by no means the most interesting nor the most prolific of his preserves. Indeed, the chamois about

Ischl are absolute "cripples" when compared with those of the Carpathians at Siebenbürgen, in some of the mountainous districts of the Carpathians in what was formerly upper Hungary. Yet this impassioned Hunter, to whom everything *but* hunting—domestic life, the theatre, travel and manœuvres—spelt no more than "duty," never gave one thought to exploring those untouched hunting-grounds—preserves for which all the Crowned Heads of the world might well have envied him.

Yet for all this Franz Joseph remained faithful to that ancient territory hallowed by the traditions of countless centuries. Ischl was the Imperial preserve, and he was the Emperor—therefore it was at *Ischl* he went a-hunting. Nor would he here have any new-fangled reforms introduced, but adhered scrupulously to the time-honoured customs which had so long obtained.

Crown Prince Rudolph had leased an estate amid the Görgény Alps in Siebenbürgen, and there indulged in the sport of bear-hunting. The Emperor was also keenly interested in this sport, one which all who have had the chance to indulge in can well understand, yet he never went to Görgény—even when the Crown Prince was entertaining other exalted guests there, and his first bear (we mention this with reserve, for the statement may be open to correction) was accounted for in Russia, when, at the beginning of the "Seventies," he was paying a visit to the Tsar of Russia.

But to return to Ischl. At the beginning of the day the Emperor was down on his luck; a matter he joked about—though with a sorry mien! He had hit several chamois, yet without killing them, which is a matter of some chagrin to any sportsman, since the animal has been rendered useless, yet without any of the pleasurable excitement of a "kill."

After having failed with the chamois the Emperor went off alone, deer-stalking. Here he shot one; a fine specimen, which although it escaped at the time, and in spite of the bullet it carried in its body, was found dead the next day. How curious it is, by the way, that game hit by exalted gentlemen should invariably thereafter be found dead! . . . Yet Franz

Joseph was in the habit of telegraphing these glad tidings to his exalted guests—long after they had once more reached their respective homes, and had probably entirely forgotten that they themselves had put lead into a stag on such and such an occasion. . . .

The victim to which we are now alluding must have been somewhat of a veteran ; it was an Eight-pointer, but a somewhat backward one : a buck that had shed its first antlers and was now sporting its second growth. Some days later the Emperor was again out by himself—first beating, then stalking. And again he had no particular sport ; nothing but what are locally and colloquially called “*Latschenschneider*”—*Schneider* standing in this sense for a poor specimen of a stag—one which for fear of his stronger fellows does not venture out into the open, but prefers to gambol about alone among the scrub and brushwood, i.e.—*Latschen*. Then quite suddenly Franz Joseph came upon a fine ten-pointer and followed on his tracks for an hour. But just as he was about to fire, a six-branched stag, which had apparently been disturbed by the other, sprang out of the bushes. This the Emperor fired at and killed with a shot in the shoulder-blade of which every sportsman is so justly proud ! then at this moment the eight-pointer reappeared, but made off again at once . . . yet in his flight he was permitted to hear sounds to which few mortals have been privy . . . for *he heard Franz Joseph swear* ! It was now evening : and so the Emperor returned to the Shooting-box on the Sattelalp, which these noble Huntsmen had agreed on as their place of rendezvous. All had interesting reports to make as to the stags and chamois with which they had had luck. They slept in the hut in their clothes, like charcoal-burners—and Grand Duke Ferdinand—the junior, according to his royal rank—was deputed to mind the fire.

On the third day followed another beat, and more stags and chamois fell to their guns. However, on the fourth day the country around was wrapped in a dense mist which prohibited any further sport. Then—on the fifth—the Emperor, accompanied by his trusty “*Nando*,” set out stalking once more before returning to Schönbrunn.

The letter runs as follows :—

ISCHL, 11th Oct. 1863.

DEAR ALBERT,

As promised, I am now sending you a report of the results since your departure and can only regret that you have not been able to enjoy these days together with us. The weather was splendid—and our “bags” satisfactory—while all our honoured guests were in the best of spirits. On Wednesday, 7th, we started out from the Offensee Shooting-box at 4.30 a.m., and proceeded to the Hochkopel preserve. Beating began at 8 a.m. A considerable number of chamois were driven down, but not in proportion to our guns. I killed two large buck and four does; and unfortunately four chamois—of which two were bucks. Gackel got two bucks; Nando two bucks and three does; Max did not get a shot! while Degenfeld killed two bucks and one doe, and Hohenlohe one kid:—together seventeen head. After the hunt I drove off to see the “bag” displayed, while the others returned to Offensee and stalked there till evening. Degenfeld hit an animal at Wiesen; Nando missed three stags at the Wuwersalp, while the others report having seen stags which seemed promising enough but were unable to get within shot of them. I stalked at the Gimbach near to Ischl, where we had been warned to look out for five royal stags; of these I saw four really splendid specimens. I had a shot at one of them and it was reported to have fallen at once. I hit him in the region of the liver as he was rolling down and he was found dead two days later. It was an eight-pointer with splendid horns, the heaviest to fall to our guns as yet. On Thursday I stalked at the Schwarzenbachschlag, where we were advised of four royal stags none of which I was able to come within range of. When at length I saw that nothing more was to be done I aimed at a stag at three hundred paces—and probably missed it. I did two further little beats, but without observing anything, and then drove to the Miesenbach Mill, where “in the sweat of my brow” I climbed the Sattelalp, and began to stalk there at once. The stags were plentiful and I sighted seven of them in the Krummholz, yet all—with the exception of a fine ten-pointer beast—were undersized “rascals.” I had stalked this ten-pointer for an hour, when I heard a dreadful roaring ahead, and then a good “sixer”

sprang suddenly out into the open in front of me. In the heat of the moment I said to myself: *a stag's a stag*, and settled him with a shot in the shoulder. And then, at that very moment the ten-pointer—evidently roused by the other—came bounding along . . . disappearing at once amid the underwood. I did a little swearing—but comforted myself with the reflection that this was part of my bad luck for that day.

At the Lodge I found three of my honoured guests already waiting; they had come there from Offensee, where they had since an early hour been busy beating about the Steinbergwänder—vulgarly called “Gwandter!”—and their reports were probably all the more marvellous owing to the fact that I had not been present. Nando had shot one chamois and a couple of doe and had also missed a stag: Gackel had shot a six-branch stag, two bucks, and two does; Max, an eight-pointer stag, one “spiesser” [young roebuck], and two bucks. The antlers of this eight-brancher are the longest that have yet been seen. Nerli shot an eight-pointer, the heaviest piece of venison which has been killed so far, it is said to be a perfectly colossal beast. Afterwards he had missed a spiesser. Hohenlohe brought down one beast—and has a good stag to his count, but failed to get a royal buck. Two stags and some other game evaded the beaters and got off unscathed. Net result of the kill:—4 stags, 2 does, 6 chamois.

We spent a very jolly evening on the Alp, and had a remarkably quiet night's rest, while Nando had to watch and stoke the fire. On Friday we started at half-past five a.m. and made for the *Todtengraben*-shoot. On the way we found numerous chamois about the trenches but they immediately took headlong flight. I shot one doe, which had looked remarkably like a buck. As soon as the beating began I was confronted by a mob of five royals!!! Of these I killed two and, in addition, four does. Nando accounted for three bucks and one doe; Gackel for two bucks; Grill had one doe and Kundert one buck. Max did not get anything at all! Net result:—8 bucks; 7 doe; together amounting to 17 chamois. We then beat the woods from *Krummholz* towards *Hochwald*, sighting six stags, of which Max and I each hit one. Neither

of these have so far been found, although mine crossed us again during the beat. The other stags fled at sight of us and broke through the beaters. After lunch we descended to *Ebensee*, where the others, who had spent the morning shooting chamois at Hallstadt, later joined us. Only fifteen chamois were in the beat; of these Degenfeld secured a kid; while Hohenlohe and Fünfkirchen each accounted for one doe. Total:—3 chamois. Yesterday we started out from *Ebensee* at 5 a.m., in dull weather, and shot over the *Scharerkogel*, near Offensee. Soon after we had made the very steep ascent to these ridges, we were enveloped in a thick mist. I heard stones constantly rolling down, but could not see two paces ahead, and not till towards the close of the beat did a strong, though very unpleasant wind disperse this fog. I aimed at one chamois-run and wounded one very big chamois buck; while Nando shot a great ten-branch stag, which was being harassed by the cross-fire of his two neighbours, Max and Latour, so that one may say that it was his only by a lucky chance. Max shot a chamois doe: Degenfeld two does; and Nerli a six-branch stag. Total:—2 stags, 2 does, and 3 chamois.

There we again came in for bad weather, so that this day's shoot was almost spoilt for us. Afterwards we came straight here and in the evening Degenfeld left for Gastein, while Gackel and Max departed at noon to-day. This evening I shall drive to the display, together with Nando, from which point we intend stalking to-morrow. After that we shall go as far as Linz together, travelling through the night; and by way of *Ebensee*: from Linz Nando returns to Lindau, while I continue my journey to *Schönbrunn*—to throw myself into the embraces of my dear ones . . . yet also into the "claws" of these affairs which there await me!

Again, farewell, dear friend: forgive the length of this epistle, but I was anxious to give you a detailed picture of all our experiences.

Begging you to lay me at the feet of your wife,

I remain,

Your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Apart from Franz Joseph's personal predilections for hunting, this sport in itself was an affair treated with much ceremony at the Austrian Court. Such was the ancient courtly tradition, which in this—as in so many of its customs—was founded upon those of the Old French Court. And so it came to pass that the Emperor's "Hunting Party" was an event surrounded by almost religious ceremony. Here is a telegram sent by the Emperor to his son-in-law, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and which has to do with an affair of this kind.

Prince Leopold was at the time staying with his brother-in-law, Crown Prince Rudolph . . . hunting with him at Görgény, and had sent the Emperor tidings that he had killed a bear. Both these royal gentlemen were untiring in the conscientious manner in which they kept each other posted as to their prowess in the field.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R.H. PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA, AT
GÖRGÉNY, SZT. IMRE

Heartiest congratulations from myself as well as from my Hunting-guests with regard to that bear (then, scratched out, is: it is to be hoped that the pelicans will now disappear). To-day, at Gerhardtsbach ten shots disposed of one Thier, and twenty-one chamois. . . . How disgraceful!!! The hunting about Grossenberg has resulted, after considerable searching—in some 40 head of game. Of these 20 are very large stags. I embrace you heartily.

Fj.

Expediert. Eisenerz. 10/10. 1887. 1/49 p.m.

The following hunting-telegram is one penned by the Emperor ten years earlier. Princess Gisela, the Emperor's eldest daughter, was ill at the time, and her father's tender inquiries as to the state of his daughter's health are here intimately interwoven with happenings in the hunting-field. These matters are communicated to Archduke Rudolph, who is at the time staying in Munich, for the Emperor's Hunt always had the air of being a state event.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R.H. PRINCE LEOPOLD OF
BAVARIA, IN MUNICH

Sincerest thanks for your telegram, which has relieved my anxiety. I have written to Gisela to-day. We have so far shot down 89 head of game and 8 stag bucks. The weather is beautiful, but cold. Please tell Rudolph. I embrace you all.
Fj.

Exp. 30/9. 1877. 12.18 noon.

There is something positively astounding in the manner in which the Emperor—as though by some instinct—was always able to control the external forms of his Government. Indeed, his uncompromising adherence thereto—even in matters appertaining to the chase—was even more remarkable, inasmuch as that, on such occasions, when he from time to time allowed himself a few days' leave of absence from his primary duties, it was to enjoy that well-earned respite in very much the same way as did any member of the Vienna Bourgeoisie, who on a Sunday dons his leather breeches and his Tirolese hat with its chamois badge, and thus arrayed hurries off on his "cockney" outing.

The Emperor's Hunting-trips had nothing in common with those break-neck adventures which had distinguished the exploits of the French Court. Even those mountain heights, with their grim romance, had no attractions for him. His experiences in this way were ever the same matter-of-fact, unadventurous, common-place, grandfatherly and *bourgeoisie* shoots; and yet—despite all the changes which had taken place—how well the Emperor knew how to preserve the "Nimbus" with which those Court hunting expeditions were surrounded! It was all done in the same manner in which he—throughout his reign—had been wont to sit at his desk . . . so like any other clerical official, imposing his constitutional rules on those heterogeneous peoples composed of Bourgeoisie and Peasantry gathered beneath his sway; and at the same time seeking in as far as it was possible to uphold an unrestricted belief in this "governing" by "Grace of God" . . . a form of faith such as had been in vogue during the seventeenth century.

The Reader may have noticed that the samples we have put forward do not always follow in chronological order ; but our reason for so doing is this :—In dealing with Franz Joseph it can hardly matter whether an autograph note quoted was written in his “ thirties ” or in his “ sixties,” and we are not taxing the credulity of the public too much when we assert that—at the time he ascended the throne—which was practically from the Nursery—he was already as good as “ full-fledged ” ; he was, indeed, a complete little Emperor.

His is one of the most extraordinary examples of a perfectly rigid character ; one which fate and the events known to history never really perturbed. His distinct characteristics were already developed when he began his career as a reigning sovereign, and at no time did they ever undergo anything in the way of modification. He was neither young nor old. As a matter of fact, it seems totally immaterial whether we are reading lines written by his hand in 1863 or in 1903. To Franz Joseph one day was much like another, and the message he sent to the Court of Berlin, reporting his only son’s horrible and mysterious death, does not differ in essentials from those hunting reports written to his friend, Albert of Saxony.

Even over the course of half a century we discern no change in his handwriting. In the days to which the earliest letters here printed refer, he drove to his holiday-resort at Ischl in a travelling-carriage—using a similar conveyance, even up to the last, when he might well have covered the distance by aircraft. At a time when everything around him was undergoing change, he alone remained fixed and immovable ; and—like some stone sphinx—his “ set ” personality had come to assume the appearance of a natural phenomenon . . . such as, for instance, the weather.

When at the age of eighteen he took over the Government he would rise in the grey dawn to fulfil his duties, and as an old man—on whom calamities had fallen with an unexampled force—whom the march of progress and the stupendous happenings of his own times had long since unceremoniously pushed aside—he might still be found at his desk, engaged in what he con-

sidered to be his "work": still writing in the same hand and formulating the same phrases . . . acting in the same strict accordance with the game of Rulership, such as it had appeared to him when he had taken over the reins of government, eighty long years ago. The wheels of his mill had long since been revolving in vain—is it possible that he may have recognized this? Who knows! All we know is that he clung to this Tread-mill, though it ground down his life, the while it yet seemed to have the power of keeping him in health—for he was inseparable from these "duties." Was it a mere matter of habit? or did it amount to a sort of religious conviction? Most probably it arose largely from a consideration of that fetish of dignity before which he so unceasingly prostrated himself.

This "Ocean" represented by Franz Joseph's manuscripts, into which we have been dipping our hands, is indeed a touching testimony to the truth of General Margutti's comments made at the time of his Master's death. During the World-War the Emperor remained at Schönbrunn—far removed from the area of those great events which were revolutionizing history—where, aside and forgotten—as it were, he could not even be kept *au courant* with the truth concerning the fate even then befalling his House and his Empire. And yet—harassed by all the sufferings of a bronchial affection—this aged man might still be found diligently seated in front of his desk, and—"at work." One such forenoon he is known to have sat before his papers in a state bordering on unconsciousness, and almost incapable of grasping the sense of what he was trying to read. Even when at last he could not as much as raise his hand it was still impossible to induce him to leave his writing-table, while—finally—and when some force had to be used in order to get him to bed, he protested, saying:—

"I still have much to do . . . I must get on with my work."

THE CHILDHOOD OF FRANZ JOSEPH

FRANZ JOSEPH was brought up with a view to being the successor to the throne, since his uncle, Ferdinand, neither had, nor could have, any children. A Master of the Household was chosen by Prince Metternich from among his own personal friends to act as Governor to the children of Archduke Franz Karl, of whom Franz Joseph, then six years of age, was the eldest.

The gentleman chosen by Prince Metternich—who bore the sobriquet of *Prince Ajo*—and was styled *Primo*, for short—was Count Heinrich Bombelles, the son of an emigrant of the French Revolution. This nobleman, an elderly widower with numerous children, withdrew later to a monastery, whence—after the Restoration and the ascent of the Bourbons to the throne again—he emerged, returning to France, there to be translated to a Bishopric.

During the era of Count Metternich the court of Vienna made use of various members of the Bombelles family, appointing them to fill posts of a delicate and confidential nature. A brother of the *Primo* became Chief of the Household to the Archduchess Marie Louise, widow of Napoleon I, and after the death of her second husband, Neipperg, while—later—this gentleman, true to tradition, and, perhaps, acting also on instructions, became the Archduchess's third husband.

The education of the future Emperor—this youthful Hope of the Throne—was practically supervised by his mother, Archduchess Sophie.

Bombelles does not seem to have been a man of great intellect and he had but little influence upon the mental development of Franz Joseph; the *rôle* seems indeed to have been limited to ordering and controlling the high office to which he had been appointed.

Each of the little Archdukes had his own individual tutor,

one who was subordinated to the *Primo*, or Chief of the Household, and—in addition to these tutors—there was a crowd of masters and Professors, who instructed these youngsters in the usual sciences and accomplishments. Franz Joseph's special tutor was Count Coronini, an aristocrat of Italo-German origin, while the tutor to Archduke Max was Lieutenant-Colonel Thimoteus Ledochovsky, a former Groom-of-the-Chamber to Archduke Franz Karl.

Count Johann Alexander Coronini-Cronberg was born at Goerz. He was a member of a family of distinguished soldiers ; as a young man he had seen service with the Engineers, and been stationed for a considerable period at different Italian garrisons. In the year 1838—while holding the rank of a Captain—he had been appointed Groom-of-the-Chamber to Archduke Franz Karl as well as tutor to the little Franz Joseph. From that moment his advance was rapid : soon he attained the rank of Major ; then of Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel, while on his pupil's ascending the throne he was made a Major-General ; then the next year saw him Lieutenant-Field-Marshal and Military and Civil Governor of the district of the Woivodina. He was subsequently entrusted with certain military as well as diplomatic missions, in the execution of which, however, he did not particularly distinguish himself. Coronini was a soldier and an imperial official. His was a conscientious, earnest, practical and rigid nature, and—next to the Archduchess Sophie—it was he who was primarily responsible that, where little Franz Joseph's bringing-up was concerned, the mean-spirited, exaggerated and inhuman system of Metternich was rendered in some degree more expansive. It was he also who in spite of those ancient and rigidly-conservative Franciscan traditions to which the mind of the young Franz Joseph had become attuned, yet sought to bring him more into touch with life itself. Coronini, with his uncompromising and serious character—a man of but few words—has been blamed that so amiable and lively a child as was Franz Joseph should have turned out in later days a sulky and stiff lad, with shy manners. Yet it is very probable that here the mental strain and burden of too much study thrust upon a conscientious boy may have had much to answer for. Still the fact remains that when

Franz Joseph—at the age of thirteen—and after seven years' tutelage under the watchful eye of Coronini—was transferred to the care of Colonel Hauslab, his Military tutor, his nature seemed to regain much of its earlier cheerfulness and vivacity—although, five years later, when he ascended the throne, he once more became a slave to his mania for work—. . . to his “duties.” “Farewell, my Youth!” he is said to have exclaimed at the close of the Abdication-Ceremony at Olmütz.

The childhood of Franz Joseph was spent between the Burg, at Vienna, and Schönbrunn, with occasional visits to Ischl. The Burg and Schönbrunn are—not only according to modern ideas, but were even in those days—considered practically unfit for human habitation.

The boy's apartments consisted of great spacious Halls which some hurriedly improvised walls of lath and plaster, as well as glass partitions, had divided into the requisite number of “rooms.”

On every side there was disorder, dust and dirt—in short, a lack of all comfort. Here *etiquette* ranked as a far more important matter than mere human well-being. Little Franz Joseph was for many a long day cooped up in an apartment situated directly above the latrine which served the sentry posted at that spot, and the constant stench consequent on this close proximity entered the window, becoming in summer-time almost unbearable. Later on there was a migration to Schönbrunn, where he was accommodated in rooms in which the young Duke of Reichstadt had lain for months, stricken with inflammation of the lungs—vainly battling for life.

Schönbrunn is cold and devoid of heating apparatus; even in the height of summer the rooms in this Palace strike chilly. All the arrangements touching the daily life of this child passed through so many hands and were subjected to such endless complications of “red tape,” that nothing was ever properly attended to or done at the time when actually required. Often, indeed, the most primitive necessities were procured with the greatest difficulty and only after endless running about.

It is indeed a wonder that the good constitutions with which Franz Joseph and his brother Max were endowed were able to escape the dangers which beset their childhood's days. As a

matter of fact the little Archdukes were often troubled with coughs and were seldom without "a cold-in-the-head." Franz Joseph, in particular, became the life-long victim to colds and bronchitis, such as finally led to his death, and there can be little doubt but that the seeds of this weakness were laid in his infancy, for it was in an over-sensitiveness of the mucous membranes that the only sign of the degeneracy marking his race became apparent.

"Little Franz" is already in all respects the Franz Joseph of the future. Before he could even speak properly his love of order was so strongly marked that he would not go to bed before he had carefully put away all his toys. From early childhood he had been endowed with a remarkable memory: if a piece of poetry was read to him he could at once repeat a few lines of it correctly.

As soon as he began to talk he became the despair of his parents and those about him owing to the *Lerchenfeld* dialect which distinguished his speech! He would say "*Na!*" and "*wie hasst dös?*" (i.e. *wie heisst das?*), habits of speech which clung to him to the end of his life, and this was all the more curious since his Governess, Baroness Sturmfeder, with whom he was in constant intercourse, was a Prussian.

Only one thing interested him as a child and that was soldiers. More especially did their dress intrigue him—whether they wore the shako and spurs—whether their swords were short or long . . . and, when out walking, he soon learnt to distinguish an "Aziz"—as he called an officer—from a "Dada," his name for a private. While, whenever he came across a few Grenadiers on duty, either in the corridors of the Burg, or in the Halls at Schönbrunn, he instantly took them in hand—and did his "exercising" with them. All children "play soldiers"—but ordinary people forget their make-believe games once they are grown up, and look about then for some other means of employing their time. Only those who by some chance become an Archduke or an Emperor go on with their childhood's game—indeed, it is just here that the usefulness of having played at the same game all their lives comes in!

Franz Joseph departed this life in the midst of the World-

War and not without having personally played a part in the epoch which led up to its formidable closing act.

At the time of his birth, this part of Europe—his Austria—was still dependent upon the service of the *diligence*; in fact, life was practically ordered on the lines of the eighteenth century, since Emperor Franz Joseph, in his stiff-necked and truly Habsburg obstinacy, had set his face against the spirit of the French Revolution, electing—here upon Austrian soil—to push back the hour-hand of History.

Franz Joseph experienced in his own person that miracle about which so much has been said, and which fantastic writers of romance constantly reserve for their heroes . . . he was permitted to behold with his own eyes “what the world was to be like” a hundred years hence . . . he was allowed to experience a Future Age, aye, even in his own lifetime.

Among the many documents referring to the birth of Franz Joseph is one eminently characteristic of those bygone days . . . of the times which still obtained when this man—who was still among us during the war—first saw the light of day. It is a letter written by a Councillor of the Duchy of Anhalt-Cöthen to some Official in the service of Prince Metternich at the time of Archduchess Sophia's confinement. Its peculiar phraseology defies translation, and the German original is therefore given.

Hochwohlgeborner Herr,

Hochzuverehrender Herr Legationsrat!

Euer Hochwohlgeboren beehre ich mich in Erwiderung hochdero gefälligen zwei Schreiben vom 27. d. M. betreffend die so schmeichelhafte schon vorläufige Anzeige von der erfreulichen Niederkunft der Frau Erzherzogin Sophie, Kaiserlichen Hoheit, mit einem gesunden Erzherzoge, hiedurch ergebenst in Kenntniss zu setzen, daß ich diese Nachricht sogleich zur Kunde Ihrer herzoglichen Durchlaucht, der gnädigsten Frau Herzogin Wittwe, gebracht habe und soeben im Begriff stehe, dieselbe an Seine jetzt regierende herzogliche Durchlaucht nach Pleß zu befördern.

Ihro Durchlaucht die Frau Herzogin Wittwe haben mir zu

befehlen geruht, Euer Hochwohlgeboren und Ihrem durchlauchtigsten Chef für die gefällige Mittheilung dieser für alle Verehrer des erhabenen kaiserlichen Hauses so frohen Begebenheit in höchstderselben recht aufrichtigen Dank zu sagen, und zugleich auszusprechen, welchen lebhaften und innigen Antheil Ihro herzogliche Durchlaucht nicht allein an jenem Ereignisse, sondern an allem nehmen was Seine Majestät den Kaiser und das allerhöchste Kaiserliche Haus betrifft, allerhöchst welche Ihro Herzogliche Durchlaucht in dem Geiste und Sinne Höchst Ihres unvergeßlichen Hochseligen Durchlauchtigsten Herrn Gemahls, stets mit der größten Verehrung und Anhänglichkeit ergeben bleiben werden.

Es gereicht mir persönlich zum ganz besonderen Vergnügen, diese gewiß tiefgefühlten Äußerungen meiner so hoch verehrten Gebieterin niederschreiben zu dürfen. Ich darf mir wohl erlauben hinzuzufügen, daß ich meinerseits die Gefühle Ihro Durchlaucht für das Allerhöchste Kaiserliche Haus recht aufrichtig theile so wie ich auch, obgleich in niederer Sphäre, Höchstderselben tiefste Betrübniß theile, indem ich einen Herrn beweine, dem ich mit treuem Herzen wie einem Vater ergeben war, und der mich in gewisser Hinsicht so wie seine theure Durchlauchtigste Gemahlin verwaist zurückgelassen hat.

Sobald mir von Seiner jetzt regierenden herzoglichen Durchlaucht in Bezug auf Euer Hochwohlgeboren an mich gerichtetes eingangs erwähntes gefälliges Schreiben Befehle eingehen, werde ich nicht säumen Hochdieselben davon in Kenntniß zu setzen. Für jetzt benütze ich mit Vergnügen diese Veranlassung um die Versicherung derjenigen ausgezeichnetsten Hochachtung und Ergebenheit zu erneuern, womit ich die Ehre habe zu verharren

Euer Hochwohlgeboren gehorsamster Diener

ALBERT VON HOZA RADLITZ

Kammerherr, Regierungsrath und Cabinets-Secretär
Sr. Durchl. des regierenden Herzogs zu Anhalt-Cöthen.

Coethen den 31.ten August 1830.

"AMI," AND THE LITTLE "FRANZI"

When touching on the childhood of Franz Joseph we will in the first place cite a few lines from the hand of Grandmama

Caroline,—the widow of the Emperor Franz, and the step-sister to Archduchess Sophie,—lines in which she conveys her blessing to Franz Joseph, who, at Olmütz, had just ascended the throne of his Uncle and his Father.

SALZBURG, 5th Dec. 1848.

Yes, dearest Franz, I am praying for you ; for you—whom, my heart has already for years called “ my Hope.” May He grant you also the necessary intelligence and strength. Yet am I by no means insensible to the gravity of your position, but—aided by a clear conscience and surrounded as you are by such advisors as constitute the present Ministry—it is to be hoped that you may succeed in solving your terrible and stupendous task. As you will be aware, my heart has ever clung to you in equal measure as it did to your Grandfather, nor will it ever cease to share with you every joy and every sorrow. “ Ami ” has just left the room that she may hasten to church : she is dissolved in tears. Her whole soul has ever been offered up in constant prayer for you, then how much more fervent now—were this possible—she will re-double them. May the Almighty give ear !

With motherly attachment I press you to my heart,

Your ever-loving,

Grandmama CAROLINE.

To the old Emperor Franz, and more especially to good Grandmother Caroline, *tiny* Franz Joseph was ever the Hope of the Throne, and as such they were wont to speak of him. We cannot say for certain whether they themselves felt assured that the throne of Ferdinand, the luckless idiot-king of Hungary, would have to be surrendered to this child, or whether they were reckoning with the contingency that the poor harmless man with his weakened intellect could have no descendants and that therefore the Franz Karl-branch of the family must eventually be called upon to reign.

His Governess—or shall we not better call her his Head Nurse?—was the “ Ami ” referred to in the above letter as having “ dissolved in tears and prayer.” To give her her true name and style we should say—Freiin Louise von Sturm-feder—“ Aja ” to the illustrious children of His Imperial

Higness, Archduke Franz Karl . . . and it was obviously this lady's business to bring up her charges with an eye to the imperial throne. Indeed she is one of the most interesting and most touching figures who have been associated with the life of Franz Joseph. The influence she brought to bear on the development of his character was both spiritually and materially all to the good. Her *full* name was—Maria Ludovika Wilhelmina, Freiin von Sturmfeder, Lerch and Dirmstein ; but to Franz Joseph and his brothers she was ever " Ami " !

When the little Archdukes had outgrown her care she became lady-in-waiting to Her Majesty the Dowager-Empress Maria Caroline, and as such she died at her apartments in the Hofburg—above the Michaelstor—in the year 1866, after having further assisted in the bringing-up of Franz Joseph's own children—and cheered on her death-bed by frequent visits from the Emperor.

It was a family of the name of Stadius who, at the time of Archduchess Sophie's expectation, brought the Sturmfeders to the imperial notice. An " Aja " (nurse) was wanted, and the suitability of Louise von Sturmfeder, one of the ten children of an impoverished noble of German descent, was mooted. The duties devolving on such a post at Court are not quite so simple as those of a nurse in the family of mere ordinary mortals. Freiin von Sturmfeder had to control a staff of numerous persons, and her responsibilities were therefore considerable. Each time a child was born into the family of Archduke Karl, the archducal baby was surrounded by a separate establishment of its own, as it were. This consisted of a nurse and several nursery maids, and over each such establishment the Baroness held sway. As in the case with other families of high degree, these parents also delegated the spiritual and physical well-being of the little Archdukes entirely to those who had been appointed to take charge of them—although, from time to time,—as the *caprice* might take them—the parents would display whims and anxieties—still, the worst thing with which those here responsible had to contend was the insanitary and unhygienic conditions of the ancient Burg and the discomfort of the Palace of Schönbrunn.

In the person of this lady a very happy choice had been

made. Baroness von Sturmfeder was an elder and unmarried sister, who had gained her experience in dealing with her younger brothers and sisters. She was a kindly soul, yet of firm character—and she was clever and strong. In her care of their well-being she never overstepped either the spiritual or material *juste milieu*, yet she was deeply religious and filled with an unbounded sense of loyalty.

In the Emperor Franz she recognized—as long as he lived—her actual Master. Little Franz Joseph spent most of the earliest years of his life in the study of the old Emperor. The companionship of the old gentleman and that of his fourth wife afforded the child much pleasure. He liked being allowed to play with his grandfather, both being on the best of terms, and such was Emperor Franz's regard for Freiin von Sturmfeder's methods, that—shortly before his death—he expressed the wish that the little Archdukes' education should continue to be carried out in the spirit inculcated by the Baroness.

Franz Joseph appears to have been a charming boy, and portraits taken of him in his earliest youth show him as having been very good-looking. But in addition to this he must also have been affectionate, attached and intelligent, for otherwise no healthy-minded woman could have brought herself to feel so strong a devotion for him. And, indeed, this deep attachment to the little Archduke, was to be the source of a secret tragedy brought to light in the pages of her diary, which was published some fifteen years ago.

No mother ever loved her children better than did this maiden lady the boys committed to her care, but most of all did she love Franz. As soon 'as ever one of her pupils had completed his sixth year he was torn from that loving heart and handed over to Civil and Army tutors; to the end that he might be transmogrified into an Austrian Archduke. The trials of these partings was soon to become an annual one. In sad anxiety she would await the day which was to rob her of another child—and when she had finally yielded up the last she remained alone with a bleeding heart—joyless and bereft of life, even as a tree which has lost all its fruit.

Of these sad days at Schönbrunn she wrote in her diary as follows :—

"They scamper about above my head all day long, so I am bound to think of them, and I can see them out there in the garden—yet must not go to them . . . have to avoid them. None can conceive the anguish! Have I not been sufficiently devoted to them? would it not have been better for me had I never learned to love them?!"

And another entry runs:—

"Though I feel some sadness this year at leaving Schönbrunn, yet is my state not so desperately unhappy as in those days when every year saw another child taken from me: now it is over, and I have lost them all . . . my four children—for whom I would have laid down my life—but there! *Basta!*"

Hereafter, when staying at the Burg, her only pleasure was to receive "secret" news and gifts from these children, now residing on the floor above her. They had contrived a way of lowering their presents by means of a string, to which "Ami" would then attach little pictures and other trifles by way of response to their attentions. But how anxious was the heart of this "Aja" when in wind and weather she saw her erstwhile charges sent forth in—to her mind—unsuitable attire: . . . *might they not take cold?* for they caught cold so easily! yet a frigid reply soon sufficed to let her know that this was no longer a matter for *her* consideration.

Such was the fate of "Ami," who never ceased to "dissolve in tears and prayers" for her Franzi from the time she first "lost" him—and even more, after he had ascended the throne.

WHAT FRANZ JOSEPH LEARNT

When Count Bombelles and Count Coronini succeeded as tutors to the six-year-old Franz Joseph, they drew up schedules whereby to regulate even the smallest details of his studies and which were indeed calculated to embrace the whole period of his schooling, from those early years on until he came of age. Each year the subjects to be pursued were set down in this general scheme and consideration given to any fresh subject which might be deemed desirable. Explanatory notes were then added, so that the entire schedule provides a faithful mirror of the education to which Franz Joseph was subjected.

Similar *Schemas* were provided for the education of the other

	Self-imposed Drawing	2½ 2	Self-imposed Drawing Music	4½ 2 1½ 3	Self-imposed Drawing Music	7 3¾ 1½ 3	Self-imposed Drawing Music	3½ 8 1½ 3	Self-imposed Drawing Music	8¾ 8½ 1½ 3
	Total	32½ 32	Total	37 36½	Total	41½ 34½	Total	38½ 42¼	Total	46½ 46¾
Dancing	Dancing	2 1	Dancing	2 1	Dancing	2 1	Dancing	1	Dancing	2
Gymnastics	Gymnastics	2 1	Gymnastics	2 1	Gymnastics	1½ 2 1	Gymnastics	3	Gymnastics	1
Fencing	Fencing	1	Fencing	2 1	Fencing	2 1	Fencing	2 1	Fencing	2 1
Swimming	Swimming	6	Riding	3 3	Riding	2 3	Riding	3	Riding	5½ 3
Drill	Drill	2	Swimming	6	Swimming	6	Swimming	6	Swimming	6
			Drill	1½ 1	Drill	1½ 1	Drill	2	Drill	1 1½

SYLLABUS OF THE STUDIES OF H.R.H. THE ARCHDUKE FRANZ JOSEPH I.

1842-43		1843-44		1844-45		1845-46		1846-47		1847-48	
12 Years Old		13 Years Old		14 Years Old		15 Years Old		16 Years Old		17 Years Old	
Religious Instruction	$\frac{2}{3}$	Religious Instruction	2	Religious Instruction	2	Religious Instruction	2	Religious Instruction	1	Religious Instruction	1
German	3	German	2	German	2	German	2	German	2	Ger. Lit. and Style	2
Writing	$\frac{2}{3}$	Writing	1	Writing	$\frac{1}{3}$	Writing	$\frac{1}{2}$	Style	8	Law	6
Geography	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Geog. and Statistics	2	Statistics	3	Statistics	$\frac{3}{4}$	Law	6	Logic	3
History	$\frac{2}{2}$	History	3	History	2	History	2	Political and Nat. Laws	4	History Technology	3
Latin	$\frac{3}{4}$	Latin	2	Latin, Greek	1	History	2	Maths.	3	Maths.	3
Mathematics	$\frac{4}{6}$	Mathematics	2	Mathematics	4	Latin	1	History	2	Geography	2
Natural History	4	Natural History	$\frac{4}{1}$	Natural History	1	Mathematics	4	Latin	2	Book-keeping	2
Greek	3	Philosophy	$\frac{3}{4}$	Philosophy	1	Natural History	$5\frac{3}{4}$	Mathematics	1	Diplomatic	3
Reading	4	Reading	1	Reading	1	Philosophy	$\frac{1}{2}$	Physics	3	Reading	1
Military Studies	$\frac{3}{2}$	Military Studies	1	Military Studies	$\frac{5}{6}$	Philosophy	3	Chemistry	6	With Count Metternich	6
French	4	French	3	French	3	Reading Military Studies	6	Military Studies	4	Military Studies	2
Hungarian	$\frac{3}{3}$	Hungarian	$2\frac{1}{4}$	Hungarian	$1\frac{1}{2}$	French	3	Fortifications	6	French	2
Bohemian	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Bohemian	1	Bohemian	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Hungarian	$1\frac{1}{2}$	French	2	Hungarian	$1\frac{3}{4}$
Italian	3	Italian	2	Bohemian	1	Bohemian	$\frac{3}{4}$	Hungarian	1	Bohemian	1
		Italian	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Italian	$\frac{1}{2}$	Italian	2	Bohemian	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Italian	1
				Italian	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Italian	$1\frac{1}{4}$	Italian	$\frac{1}{1}$	Polish	3

Self-imposed	$8\frac{1}{4}$ $4\frac{3}{4}$	Self-imposed	8	Self-imposed	$8\frac{1}{2}$	Self-imposed	$11\frac{1}{4}$	Self-imposed	$11\frac{3}{4}$	Self-imposed	$10\frac{3}{4}$
Drawing	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 3	Drawing	1	Drawing	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 3	Drawing	2	Drawing	2	Drawing	2
Drawing Military	4	Drawing Military	4	Drawing Military	3	Drawing Military	$1\frac{1}{3}$				
Music	3	Music	3	Music	1	Drawing Survey	2				
				Music	2	Music	2				
					3						
					$1\frac{3}{4}$						
Total	$50\frac{3}{4}$ $45\frac{1}{4}$	Total	$48\frac{1}{4}$ 50	Total	51 $49\frac{1}{2}$	Total	$53\frac{1}{4}$ $55\frac{1}{2}$	Total	$58\frac{1}{2}$ 58	Total	$55\frac{1}{2}$
Dancing	2	Dancing	2	Dancing	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Dancing	1	Gymnastics	2	Gymnastics	1
Gymnastics	1	Gymnastics	1	Gymnastics	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Gymnastics	1	Fencing	2	Fencing	1
Fencing	2	Fencing	2	Fencing	2	Fencing	2	Riding	$3\frac{1}{4}$	Riding	3
Riding	1	Riding	1	Riding	4	Riding	3	Swimming	6	Swimming	6
Swimming	3	Swimming	3	Swimming	6	Swimming	6				
Drill	6	Drill	6	Drill	$1\frac{1}{2}$						
	$1\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2}$								

Archdukes ; these boys received precisely the same education as Franz Joseph, and it is an interesting fact that this curriculum—this same instruction—imparted in most cases by the same individuals—should have led to such essentially different results in the persons of each of these archducal brothers. We would here set aside any question of natural characteristics and refer solely to the *nature* and extent of the instruction itself.

While, for instance, Franz Joseph, after the above course of study, showed himself to be a man who took but little interest in the things of this world, and yet was thoroughly versed in all he had learnt, Archduke Max flitted about from one subject to another, taking in a little from each, yet working without either method or serious understanding.

Apart from the main schemes provided for the education of Franz Joseph and his brothers we append a copy of the first time table drawn up for his daily instruction when a child of six years old. (See pp. 46-49).

These children were in the first place—and as a matter of course—to be brought up as soldiers. Coronini was himself a soldier and Colonel Hauslab initiated the ten-year-old Franz Joseph in the mysteries of the separate arms. Less importance was attached to the science of warfare, an omission which was not to be without its detrimental effect upon the entire subsequent military career of Franz Joseph. But he came to know his drill as thoroughly as any N.C.O., and in his sixth year he had already begun exercising and drilling—though he had done this voluntarily and with marked delight as a small child—a matter in which he can hardly be said to have differed from other small boys.

An Austrian Archduke who is destined to occupy the throne has the misfortune of having to acquaint himself with a great many languages ! Small wonder, then, if he never comes to master any one of them properly, and Franz Joseph never knew either German, French or Latin perfectly, yet he could at last speak good German. His style in German was entirely correct, although this was probably more due to his “ set ” and “ rigid ” character and his plain, orderly and—for such purposes—convenient mode of thinking. French he had acquired in his earliest youth, for his “ Aja ” had constantly conversed with

him in that language, and he had not reached his fifth year before a Czech manservant was added to his special "establishment" so that he might become familiar with the sound of that tongue, and, indeed, at this age he soon became able to use some Czech expressions. As soon as he came under the tutorship of Coronini and his other governors he was set to acquire French, Czech and Hungarian systematically, and at an early age he was also given a certain amount of instruction in Latin, and, indeed, with a view to his using it as a *living* language, for, at the time of his birth, the Emperors of Austria still made Latin the medium of speech on all occasions of ceremony when holding intercourse with the legislators in Poland and Hungary. Next in order came Italian; English was a language Franz Joseph never acquired. French he spoke very well, but having had little practice in writing it, he was incapable of as much as drafting a telegraphic message correctly, so abundant were his mistakes in grammar and orthography; work of this nature was therefore always the affair of the Foreign Office. Other subjects of study were history, natural science and jurisprudence. From his eleventh year onward lectures of a generally philosophic nature had been delivered to him by the Abbé Rauscher, who at a later date became Lord Archbishop of Vienna. In Franz Joseph's school-days this Divine was Director of the Academy for Oriental Study at the Vienna School for Diplomats. It is also worth mentioning here that his instructor in Divinity was not Dr. Rauscher, but the Domherr, Joseph Columbus, who was private chaplain to Archduke Franz Karl. And here we seem to recognize the influence of Archduchess Sophie, for—though the implacable ultramontane views held by Rauscher were by no means discountenanced at Court, it was yet thought better that the probable successor to the throne should not be inoculated with this particular brand of opinion—one which regarded every independent action in clerical matters taken by the State as an infringement of the Church's rights. Owing to the importance of his position Abbé Rauscher could, of course, never have been subjected to supervision where his teaching was concerned, so that religious studies with this gentleman were dispensed with and Franz Joseph's elders fell

back on the proved integrity of Father Columbus. . . . And here again this attitude towards the Roman Catholic Hierarchy was—in a certain sense—to have its influence on the entire future life of the young Archduke. For he came to regard the form of sovereignty exercised by the Church in mundane matters (in the manner in which this had prevailed under the Ministry of the Emperor Franz) as requisite and necessary only so long as affairs concerning his subjects were involved. Yet, where his own personal dignity or his rights as a Sovereign were at stake, he did not consult the Authority of the Church.

But for all this he held himself to be quite as fervent a Catholic as was Louis XIV, and, indeed, so he was—although never a man for whom deep religious feeling had any meaning. Without having taken the trouble to give much thought to the essence of Catholicism, Franz Joseph was a good Catholic : to be such was to him a matter of course, and therefore—his “duty.” Yet—should Catholicism run contrary to what he happened to regard as his sovereign-right—he allowed himself in no ways to be tormented by any insistent “problems,” for here he had the consciousness that, as Emperor, he was bound to hit on the right solution. It is well known that he always avoided giving his hand to a Prince of the Church, since—as a good Catholic—he would in duty bound have had to kiss the ring on the hand of that Church Dignitary, and this again—being the Emperor—he could not do. It is probable that, although deprived of Rauscher’s ministrations in the matter of religious instruction, he must have acquired much useful information upon other subjects from this influential Priest. Shortly before he entered on his reign he attended a course of Lectures given by the Abbé on the History of the British Constitution . . . and we may fairly well imagine the spirit with which these were permeated !

During his final years of study Franz Joseph rejoiced in one more tutor—one who sought to inculcate the Art of Governing . . . for in the last rubric of the great Schema (p. 48) we read :—*one hour with Count Metternich*. So that, prior to ascending the throne, he actually sat at the feet of that veteran statesman, being once a week initiated into the Great Man’s ideas and experiences in the matter of politics and the art of reigning.

The time for the Archduke's daily studies was also carefully ordered, for—in addition to lessons and languages, drill, attending Mass, and religious exercises, as well as time “for private use,”—some attempt was made to teach him proficiency in music! further—he had instruction in swimming, in riding, in fencing and—oddly enough—in walking! Franz Joseph had—like other boys—a very excellent collection of butterflies, also of minerals: sometimes he was taken to see pictures, etc., etc. In music he did not get far, for he had no ear. And what seems strange is that his taste for art diminished, although as a small boy his gifts in this direction were so marked that his Masters did what they could to encourage it. It may have been that his subsequent passion for “self-discipline” simply forbade him giving way to his turn for art . . . in the same way that it deprived him of all other sensibilities, lest these might disturb the proper functioning of the “Government Machine” in its work.

THE FORTRESS, THE THEATRE, AND THE DARMSTADT GIANT

The following letter tells us about the games and troubles of the little Franz Joseph of long ago. A big envelope bears the superscription “1837, 1841-44: Intimate Letters from His Majesty, the Emperor, Written during his earliest boyhood to His Imperial Highness, Archduke Ferdinand Max.”

“a Writing Exercise of 8th February, 1837.”

(And on the obverse side this envelope bears a seal which displays the Royal Coat-of-Arms.)

The first letters we shall give were written by Franz Joseph when he was six and seven years of age. Archduke Max had contracted some infectious infantile malady and was therefore in temporary exile from his brothers. For this reason too Franz Joseph was only permitted to see his parents from time to time and then at a distance. So Franz wrote to his brother almost every day, in his effort to help him to while away the time; and further to assist in this he also sent him personally executed drawings. And on this point little Franz is filled

with a naïve pride at his prowess in matters of art and comports himself with all the airs of a professional expert. If a promised drawing is not forthcoming it is because the conditions (*Stimmung*) requisite for its execution were wanting . . . inspiration has failed him! One of his drawings is reproduced on page 57, which—for so small a boy—is surprisingly creditable and which shows quite a special gift of observation. Even though we can venture no opinion as to the likeness these caricatures are intended to convey, yet we are bound to say that the figures *in themselves* have character, while the drawing is sure and at the same time remarkably bold. Indeed, though Franz Joseph—for all his good memory and powers of observation—was anything but a child-prodigy, these drawings of his—the work of a six-year-old child—are, nevertheless, remarkable.

These letters give some charming pictures of childhood experiences. We read of a feudal castle which the little fellow had received from his Grandparents . . . a castle, which he could either defend or besiege with a little toy cannon; of a little theatre, where such harrowing spectacles as fires and floods could be staged for the entertainment of his friends (among whom he numbered “Edi Taaffe,” the future Minister-President of the Empire). Then there is his account of a celebrated actress of the “Vorstadt” he has been taken to see, and details too about a dog that had got itself run over. . . . One also deals with an account of the “Giant from Darmstadt,” whose spectacular entry into Vienna was an event to be looked forward to. And there are tidings which tell of much jollification, with attendant “tuck” . . . ice-creams and sweetmeats . . . then—all about a chill he himself has contracted, a cold-in-the-head that resulted in a tallow-plaster!

DEAR MAXI!

I have a very bad cold in my head, and am obliged to have a tallow-plaster round my neck every night when I go to bed, but this shall not prevent me from writing to you and sending you drawings in anticipation of the delight of our being together again. Grandmama is kind enough to visit us

twice almost every day. The Darmstadt Giant is expected very soon.

Farewell, dearest Maxi,

FRANZ.

Herr Doré wishes to prostrate himself at your feet and hopes to see you soon again.

DEAR MAXI!

We moved into our new quarters at 8 o'clock yesterday; you will have heard all details from the letter I wrote to dear Mama. Yesterday Herr Wegner departed after much deferential leave-taking. He has left us a new Porter, the one who used to be with Ami. I hope to see our dear parents either to-day or to-morrow in the Prater.

Farewell! may we soon meet again. . . .

FRANZ.

Many kind messages to Mama, Papa, and to all the Counts.

To be delivered into the personal hands of

ARCHDUKE FERDINAND.

(This letter bears a seal on which is an impression of Romulus and Remus being suckled by the she-wolf.)

DEAR MAXI!

Forgive me for not yet having sent you any drawings, but I have really not been in the mood these last few days. Whenever I sat down with the intention—nothing seemed to succeed, and I don't want to send you bad work, so that—until I feel up to drawing again—I shall try to cheer you up by writing, as this seems to come easier. We are amusing ourselves very well here with our cannon and with reading, although it is not half as jolly as when we are all together upstairs and can have all sorts of games and occupations. Karl is very well and gets fatter and fatter.

Good-bye—

FRANZ.

Finis—

Address:—

To

ARCHDUKE FERDINAND.

(Sealed with a Coat-of-Arms.)

DEAR MAXI !

In to-day's letter I shall tell you a little tale which Count Morzin read to us :—The many robbers who plague travellers on their way to Java have mostly been dispersed. Yet another kind of disturbance now infests the forests in those parts ; namely—hordes of orang-outangs and baboons, too. And these beasts have wounded quite a lot of people by throwing clumps of wood and coco-nuts at them ! One day, the Commandant's daughter was being carried in a litter from one town to another, so as to visit a relative. The native bearers were ill-armed and as they were traversing the forest a great many orang-outangs appeared and began to throw branches and stones and fruits at the litter so that it broke down. Then the bearers ran away and the poor girl was seized hold of by an ape who dragged her up into a tree—but once he had got her there he was quite hospitable and regaled her with coco-nuts. At length she was rescued, yet not before she had been up there three hours ! I hope, dear Maxi, that this story will cheer you up.

Farewell, dear Brother !

FRANZ.

All sorts of kind messages to the Counts and to Wittek.

(Beneath this is a drawing of two men. The letter is sealed with the Coat-of-Arms.)

DEAR MAXI !

On Sunday we are going to have a big feast to which Franzi Coronini and probably also the Falkenhayns are coming. There will be ice-creams, which Coronini has ordered for us from Dehmel. Please forgive me for not having sent you a drawing, but yesterday I had no time, for Stephan had commissioned me to draw something for his Mother, as soon as possible. Grandmama has given me a Fortress. After it has been set up it can be bombarded with a little cannon, which makes it collapse. It is so nicely made and is garrisoned with cardboard soldiers.

Farewell, I shall continue to contribute as much as I can to your entertainment.

FRANZ.

Excuse my handwriting, but we are very badly off for pens.

Gefallen lieber Mägen erst die diese
 Gefallen im neuen aufstehen werden.

Lebe wohl lieber Gerd,

Gerd

Und spind den Gerd und den Mitter



DEAR MAXI !

Excuse me! excuse me! Not much time! Before noon there are one's lessons and in the evening Grandmama comes to see us—and so the day passes. To-morrow I hope, dear *monsieur*, to have got Herr Grosselet up on to his horse—I have already begun labouring at him. But for to-day I have started putting the little theatre together, as I think of giving a show for Karl. There is to be a *real* conflagration—made with spirits of wine—and an inundation, besides many other spectacular things. This morning we were at Grandmama's: the Mass was being celebrated for Grandpapa, because to-day is the 12th of February.

I am Your Excellency's ever most faithful Servant,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Please tell Count Bomb that the counts and our tutors . . .

Yesterday we saw Talbot looking like this:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| | 1, half-torn hat, perhaps 10 years old. |
| (Drawing of female figure.) | 2, unkempt curls, hanging down her face. |
| | 3, a very spotty boa. |
| | 4, a very shabby old dress. |

(Profile drawing of a man indicated to be monsieur Grosselet.)

Kind Messages to Winnek.

Herr Doré is very sorry that you are ill, and glad to hear that you are better. The same from Herr Hoffer. Now at last I have finished.

Superscription:—

To Archduke FERDINAND.

And, beneath it, the drawing of an animal (donkey?). The letter is sealed with Franz Joseph's own crest.

DEAR MAXI !

Yesterday we spent a very happy evening and I shall try to give you an account of it:—

At six o'clock all the four Falkenhayns came and we bombarded the fortress, I had told you about, until 6.30. Then we had our feast. We all sat down and first we had coffee, with all kinds of small cakes and after that *Faschingkräpfel* (doughnuts: these are especially eaten at Carnival time in



FRANZ JOSEPH AS ARCHDUKE

From the drawing by Aullinger in the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna

Central Europe): then we had ice-creams and almond-milk and bon-bons. We romped about a great deal, and Count Coronini showed us a new sort of game called "das neue Brillenspiel." Our party lasted till a quarter to nine.

Every Sunday there is to be a "cahier" like yesterday's.

Please say all sorts of nice things from me to the Counts, and I should like to see them again when we go out.

Farewell—

Your most affectionate Brother,

FRANZ.

One more story . . . Yesterday at dinner we had an Auflauf (the German name for a Soufflé-pudding), and when Karl asked the footman if it was *rice*, he replied that it had just come out of the oven! we all began to laugh for he had understood Karl to be asking if it was *heiss* (hot)!

Superscription:—

To Archduke FERDINAND.
(Sealed with a small crest.)

DEAR MAXI!

To-morrow we are going to have a grand performance in our little theatre: the play is called "The Magician's Assistant on his Travels." The first scene will be in the Magician's Cave, and the second outside a town, which will afterwards be burnt down. The fourth will be in a little village and this will later be flooded, and the fifth will be at night-time, in a dark forest infested with robbers. Grandmama will honour us by her presence. Please let me know through Mama how you liked Monsieur Grosselet. I expect that Herr Dullinger's drawing will have entertained you! and I will thank him on your behalf.

Farewell—

FRANZ.

Please say all sorts of nice things to the counts and to Wittek. Count Coronini and Professor Hoffer send the same to you.

Superscription—

To Archduke FERDINAND.
(Sealed with a crest.)

DEAR MAXI!

I hope soon to provide you with another sketch, for I think I shall devote to-morrow to drawing very diligently. To-day after dinner we romped about awfully—dragging the little cannon round and round and half-dying with laughter: two donkey-head caps made for us by Hahnenkamm contributed to our diversion. Count Coronini has promised that, if we are good, he will always allow us to have a good time. Grandmama comes to see us every evening, and she generally brings us some pictures. Lately she has been showing us the *Musée Napoleon* (which Mama had already explained to us).

I am very glad that you have been allowed to change your shirt to-day. Farewell: for Herr Geiger is coming.

FRANZ.

When I was in town yesterday I saw a dog howling piteously—it had had its fore-paws run over.

Finis.

Superscription—

To Archduke FERDINAND.

(Sealed with Franz Joseph's crest.)

AT ELEVEN YEARS OF AGE

The letter we shall give next is dated in the year 1841. At this time Franz Joseph was eleven years of age, but we fail to discern any development such as might be expected to have taken place during the four years which have intervened since the foregoing letter. There is the same sober, intelligent, child-like tone of the "exemplary scholar," and the only difference seems to be that—instead of "donkey's heads"—it is trousers and waistcoats, of the latest cut, that provide the greatest sensation which is retailed for the benefit of Archduke Max, who has gone to Munich with his Mother, in advance of the rest.

Nor is there any further use for that little cannon which used to lay waste his small fortress, for its place has now been taken by much larger ones with which Franz Joseph "practises" on the group of bears in the "Boulin grin," in the Park at Schönbrunn. Throughout these four years the tone, speech and interests of Franz Joseph have in no way altered: if at

seven years of age he was precocious,—at eleven he remains much the same as he was then : there is the same old-fashioned phraseology, as, for instance . . . “ We danced to the enlivening music of Herr Lanner ” . . . or—“ The beautiful Festival of *Fronleichnam* was celebrated with all the usual pomp . . . ”—phrases which have been taken-over, so to speak, ready-made.

Detailed accounts of festivities still bear the same importance for him as they had four years earlier, and the impending “ Name’s-day ” gift of a drawing is again apologized for as not being forthcoming owing to lack of the desired “ *Stimmung* ” to execute the same . . . indeed, young Franz Joseph would seem to have sprung from the Brow of History a finished manikin . . . nor were there great signs of development to be noticed in him even in later years. These letters exhale the very atmosphere of Old Vienna. The Kaiser-Garten—the “ Magician ”—with his trained birds—the procession of the *Fronleichnam* feast, with the Body-Guard of Archers—all of which things the little Archdukes were allowed to watch from the balcony (now no longer existing) of the Hofburg.

Then there was the Wiedener theatre, with its wonderful circus-like show, and a Summer-Ball in the Gallery at Schönbrunn . . . also a Soirée, with fireworks—at the *Palais Metternich*. . . .

DEAR MAX !

By this time you will have arrived in Munich and will have seen something of the town. Papa and I will probably leave Vienna on 11th June and shall visit you in Munich. Papa thinks of leaving here at 7 a.m. in a light *Pretschka*, travelling as far as Neubau on the first day ; and on the second to Altöllingen, so that we may hope to be in Munich by three o’clock on the third.

And now I must tell you about what took place here yesterday. At 12.30 I drove with Papa to the Exhibition of Pictures, where we remained till a quarter to three. At three I dined at Papa’s. Then our cousins from Milan, together with Joseph, and all our other companions met us in the Kaisergarten, where we saw a Conjuror, who had some trained birds, and

these performed the most astounding tricks, he, too, being very clever. Towards eight we sat down to supper. First we had coffee and some delicious cakes and small "Kugelhupfs." After which came sour milk, with strawberries, and then more strawberries . . . with which a splendid "Kugelhupf" was served, and after this ice-creams and finally oranges and sweet-meats. At half-past eight we went home by way of the *Bastei*.

I kiss the hands of Mama and Grandmama, and send many kind messages to count Ledochovsky.

Farewell—

FRANZ.

Vienna, 21 May 1841.

P.S.—The Count sends his greetings to you and begs you to lay him at the feet of Mama. Herr Doré sends you his compliments and that's the end!

DEAR MAXI!

My heartiest congratulations for your Name-day! and I wish you every possible happiness and a long and prosperous life—and many virtues. My present to you will be a drawing, but I cannot send it till my next letter. I enclose you two more letters of congratulation, one from Carl and the other from "Ami." We are having a jolly time here: from 9 in the morning till half-past five in the afternoon we are in the garden, where we also dine: and we swim too, every day. At five we either go for a walk or have gymnastics, but on Wednesdays, like to-day—I go for a ride. To-morrow Papa is giving a Ball in the Gallery, where twenty couples will be able to dance to the enlivening strains of Herr Lanner's music.

Farewell, dearest Maxi! I kiss the hands of Mama and Grandmama, and beg the former not to exert herself too much with writing, as it must exhaust her now that she will have a great deal to do with Grandmama.

My best wishes for your Name-day, and I remain,

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

Professor Hoffer and Herr Doré desire to be laid at your feet. The Counts send their congratulations for your Name-day.

Schönbrunn, 26 May 1841, 8.45 p.m.

DEAR MAXI !

I hear that the Saint's-day was kept with grand celebrations and that there was a fine *gouter* at which several ladies and gentlemen appeared in fancy-dress. I hope to have further details as to these mysterious "Masks" when I reach Munich. We too are having a very good time here all together. The other day we went to a delightful Ball at the Metternichs : First there were several dances and then a fine and most beautifully served repast. Three tables had been laid : at the first sat their Royal Highnesses, and at the second we children, while there were a few ladies at the third. Alas ! that we had to leave the place of delight directly the supper was over, though we were still able to see something of the beautiful illuminations, which lighted up all the parterre of the Villa. All the flower-beds were surrounded with small lamps and one could go out through the open doors, and many people were walking about in the gardens.

To-day when we were practising in the *Boulin grin* it began to rain hard, so we at once dragged our cannon under the trees and continued exercising there, until it pelted so that we had to beat a retreat and took refuge in the cottage.

About an hour ago the tailor sent some trousers and waistcoats, made of the very latest materials. We shall not fail to bring those meant for you to Munich with us.

Farewell—

FRANZ.

P.S.—Forgive me for not having sent your present yet, but it did not turn out as I wished, so I must do another. The counts and His Reverence, Abbé Colombus send you their greetings.

FRANZ.

DEAR MAXI !

The procession in celebration of the beautiful Feast of Fronleichnam was celebrated with much pomp. We and aunt Elise, and the Duke of Salerne, as well as Aunt Clementine, and Lina and all the rest of the cousins, watched it go past from the balcony at the Riding School. It all went off as usual in a very orderly manner, only that one great attraction was

absent, namely the ladies—who, owing to the absence of the Empress, were not able to attend the function. The Italian Guards, now seen for the first time on horseback, looked very imposing.

Last night we went to the *Wiedener* Theatre where we saw a grand performance—"Der Maurer Traubruch in Granada" ("Perfidy of the Moors at Granada"). All Herr Guerra's Circus-riders took part in it, impersonating Moors as well as Spanish riders, and there must have been quite thirty horses and as many soldiers. A battle was staged, and then the horses danced a quadrille, and Herr Camerler played the part of the Duke of Cadix, and did it very well.

I must close now as Count Coronini is going to dictate a report to me—it is for count Ledochovsky. . . .

Here is the report:—F.M.L., Martonitz, Duke of Saxe-Coburg: Csorich, Königl and Trapp, have all been promoted to the rank of Field Ordnance officers. Count Coronini sends greeting to you and to count Ledochovsky.

FRANZ.

I kiss the hands of Mama and Grandmama. Ami kisses your hand for the beautiful letter which gave her great pleasure.

At fourteen years of age Franz Joseph was a full-blown little man. He would seem to have developed at a bound, as it were, for the following letter shows him *fully* developed. The earlier child-like simplicity is now but faintly discernible in these lines, but in it we perceive another quality—a certain touch of humour, all the more curious since in his later years anything of the kind was totally absent. Nor is it a youthful type of humour, for there is something precise and "grown-up" about it. He calls his brothers to book for their unconcern what time he was laid up—ill (he would appear to have been suffering from a rash). He makes merry at the expense of his own archducal title and his rank . . . and describes himself as a swollen blue and red boy, lying in bed . . . and all this is detailed with a certain amount of liveliness and charm. Indeed, we hardly think that after twenty years Franz Joseph would have recognized himself in the writer of this letter, in which he refers to the "horrible ancestral portraits" which

never cease to stare down at him from the walls of that abode at Ischl!

We shall come across this type of humour once again, yet on that occasion tempered with the soldierly spirit, in a letter written when still a young monarch to Albert of Saxony, but after that it disappears for ever. Indeed, it is seldom that one comes in contact with any individual so devoid of humour as was Franz Joseph, for all the remainder of his life, and where it may have gone to is a riddle!

We have already mentioned that about the time of his fourteenth year Franz Joseph began to show signs of increasing animation. His manner was easier and he became more talkative. His letters report from time to time that such and such a lady attached to the Court is "pretty and lively," but the remark is made in all innocence and denotes a complete simplicity of a soul dowered with a most robust healthiness.

Let no one be surprised at the orthography displayed in these letters! a spelling such as would put to shame even the mere partially educated youth of the present day! In those days German orthography was bound by no hard and fast rules; and such knowledge—together with the practice of daily ablutions—were matters which a later and more bourgeois generation were to acquire.

Some one has said: "Orthography is the patent of nobility conferred upon our Age."—Franz Joseph, while growing up in that age, learnt at all events the rules of orthography, yet—at the time with which we are dealing—it was by no means astonishing nor a matter of importance, especially at the Court of Vienna, which still lived—so to speak—in the atmosphere of the seventeenth century. We have it on record that even Kant could not spell correctly!

(The Letter).

IMPERTINENT CREATURES!

You have been daring enough not to inquire after my august health. . . . I stoop therefore to let you creatures know that I look a bluish red, but feel all right and graciously wish you well!

To Prince Hetzius I condescend to send my respects and also a kiss.

Your Impertinences' displeased

Archduke FRANZ JOSEPH.

Graciously sent forth from our bed on the 15th of the Easter Month, A.D. 1844.

Superscription :—

To Those Who Dwell Beneath US !

(Sealed with his crest).

The journeys to Ischl had been annual events ever since the babyhood of Franz Joseph. The Imperial Villa there had originally belonged to Archduke Franz Karl, and the great yellow house, with its brown marble columns, festooned with wild vine, has hardly known a change since Franz Joseph penned the above letter—lying up in the room under the roof.

The journey from Vienna to Ischl in August and in a light Droschke or travelling carriage can hardly have been a very pleasant undertaking—what with the great heat and the dusty high road. Such a convoy, indeed, as the one setting out from the Court, was bound to progress in small detachments, as it would otherwise have required practically the entire road-way for its accommodation. As it was, the carriages raised a tremendous cloud of dust, for they drove at a tremendous pace, and if from some cause or other, one of them had to stop there was no consideration from any of the rest ! for they all went on—tearing past—unless there happened to be some one present with sufficient authority to call a halt to the rest. But as a rule all those seated in the luckless broken-down conveyance had to swallow their quantum of dust with the best grace they could. Including the usual stoppages, the journey from Vienna to Ischl was timed to take from twenty to twenty-five hours. This next letter too, exhales the “pre-March” (i.e. an allusion evidently to the March Revolution) spirit. The Hrabowsky Militia serenaded the Archdukes while they sat at dinner, and count Meritz Sandor gave an exhibition of some of his famous bravura trick-riding up an adjacent steep incline. . . . Here in Ischl, Franz Joseph was already beginning to enjoy the chamois-

hunting which was to be so marked a feature with him in years to come. Early and as a small boy he became initiated into the royal pastime of the Chase, and at Schönbrunn he had been permitted to shoot his first "Küniglhasen." Nevertheless these earliest letters hardly give a hint of how absorbing his passion for this sport was to become.

Without any trace of excitement—indeed, if anything, in a spirit of boredom—he recounts this chamois-hunting episode for the special benefit of his brothers, while his references to the pretty and animated Fräulein Marwitz are in a livelier strain.

DEAR MAXI !

I am writing these lines to you at 7 a.m., a refreshing night's rest having completely restored me after the rigours of the journey. I am sitting in a rather big room beneath the roof, a room from which to look down on to the Promenade makes one quite dizzy. Five horrible ancestral portraits gaze at me from the walls. Our journey came off all right, but I did not get much sleep in my *Pricka*. We drove so fast that we were able to reach here by five o'clock yesterday. Prince Hetzi was quite well all the time, he was in high spirits most of the time, eating his supper, dinner and supper with zest. At Lambach, where we dined, a Company of the Hrabowsky Landwehr, together with the Trumpeters from Liechtenstein, formed a Guard of Honour. After the Company had presented arms, the Trumpeters played the whole time we were at dinner.

We have had the most splendid and the hottest weather imaginable, both yesterday and to-day. The Dachstein is covered with snow, as is usual at this time of year. Yesterday evening already I climbed to the site where we can get a view of the Dachstein, and there found—"Canafra, 30 July, 1843," still quite all right !

Talachini's Inn has got its roof already and looks like a palace. I must go to breakfast now and then to Mass. I will close my letter after Mama arrives. . . .

Mama and Papa have arrived safely. I drove out as far as Ebensee to meet them.

All kind remembrances to you.

Your faithful Brother;

Ischl, 7th August, 1844.

FRANZ.

DEAR MAXI!

Many thanks for your Hungarian letter. Losing your way in that weird *Räuberwald* at Hüttendorf, might have turned out rather fateful—especially if you had been obliged to spend the night there. Kunrad must have forgotten his bearings, for otherwise I cannot imagine how it could have happened. We have had bad weather every second day, still, since the King of Prussia left, we have been on two jolly expeditions: the day before yesterday to the Theresien-Felsen and yesterday to Ramsau, and as the Prussian ladies—especially Countess Dönhof—are not good walkers, we made use of Bartel a good deal. Countess Dönhof is tall and thin and no longer very young. Fraülein Marwitz, the other lady-in-waiting, is also rather tall, but young, pretty and full of fun. We have a very jolly dinner-party every day at Mama's, Monsieur Narcice is responsible for it, and provides the best of fish and lobsters, and the finest venison the neighbourhood can show graces the table. The conversation at these dinners is most entertaining and some fresh guests are invited every day.

At half-past eight in the evening there is tea, which usually lasts till ten, and at which I generally take *sour milk*; I underline this, so that you may report it to Baron Gorigutti.

I saw Countess Metternich for the first time when we went to the Waldbachstrupp with the King of Prussia; after that we went to see them and she called on me. Dénes and Ernest Hojos have also been to see me, the latter meeting Sandor at the plank which leads across a waterfall as he was galloping over from Schafberg. Sandor galloped all the way from Wolfgang up to the highest summit of the Schafberg, and there wrote his name in the Visitors' Book, which is kept at the newly-erected house where there is sleeping accommodation for eight people. Then he galloped all the way down again doing the whole trip in three hours—yet, we must bear in mind that a path has now been constructed from the grazing-huts up to the highest point.

As the weather has been very bad again to-day Papa took me to see the "Zauberschleyer" ("Magic Veil"). In my next letter I shall give you a description of all our dwelling-apartments—which you will soon see for yourself.

Kind messages from me to all the counts as well as to Baron Gorigutti. Count Coronini sends his compliments. Full stop!

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Bad Ischl, 15 *August*, 1844.

Best congratulations to Charli for his birthday.

DEAR MAX!

Very many thanks for your letter in Latin. Since I last wrote we have been down to the Traun in a boat and have seen the interior of the Talachini house, it is very nice. We have also been to Weissenbach and to Steinbach—and chamois-hunting too, and were none the worse for the disturbed state of the waves on the Wolfgangsee. Now for details:—The boat-ing expedition on the Traun, from Steg to Ischl, went off very well and we slid across the weirs splendidly. At Attensee we took the same walk we did last year, only that this time we did not go over the Aquarium. His Reverence and the School-master at Steinbach are both very well.

The chamois hunt on the Hohe Schrott did not take place in quite the same part as it did last year and was far more successful. Papa shot three; Count Falkenhayn two; Uncle Ludwig two; Sandor three; Imre Sezseny one, and my Insignificance also one—while count Coronini got none at all, nor did Prince Wasa get a chamois either. The hunt lasted some considerable time, for we left Ischl at half-past four—were climbing from five till seven, and only got back to Ischl at one. This was last Friday. On Saturday the entire party went to the Schwarzensee. Count Coronini, Marie Vecsei and I following by carriage to Wolfgang, from where it had been intended that we should all proceed by boat to Falkenstein. But a stiff wind rose—driving the waves so high that the ladies began to get nervous and so we turned back before reaching the Falkenstein, and had a somewhat rough passage to Strobel.

Adieu, dear Max, we shall be meeting again in a few days.

Kind messages to all.

FRANZ.

Don't forget to tell Herr Geiger (note:—he was an artist and acted as drawing-master to the Archdukes) that I thank him for his jokes and his good wishes.

THE BROTHER: MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO

AMONG these State-papers we find a long envelope. It bears two black and one red seal and these have now been broken. On the outside of the envelope is written—

Received from the Trustees of my brother Maximilian,
9th May, 1886.

Fj.

And above this inscription of the Emperor's we perceive the superscription in another handwriting, in the delicate and somewhat florid calligraphy of his brother Max—a handwriting conspicuous for its long cross-strokes and flourishes; it makes the following statement:—

Letters from and to the Emperor: 1857, 1858, 1859, 1861, 1863.

Some of the letters we have published were contained in the envelope. When Emperor Max perceived his sovereignty in Mexico to be endangered, he caused the entire contents of the imperial Mexican Archives to be shipped to Vienna. This secret record of Emperor Max has been kept apart from all other State-papers and has been treated as altogether separate.

It appears that when the Inventory of the Mexican Archives was being taken this envelope was come upon unawares and, since the superscription proclaimed it as containing the Emperor's own letters, it must have been forwarded intact to Franz Joseph. The Emperor had apparently opened the envelope, read through the contents and resealed it—using this time the black seals above referred to, and had then handed it over to the State Record Office to be preserved among his own personal documents.

Like some ghost does the figure of the luckless Maximilian

emerge from the keeping of this ancient envelope. He may have been a good and amiable enough man : he must certainly have had something attractive about him—if not to say some fascination. His fair hair and his blue eyes were as much part of him as was his sanguine temperament. His undeveloped and retreating chin he had even as a young man sought to hide beneath a flowing beard which he wore divided into two points. This Archduke was entirely well-meaning and full of the very best of intentions and plans. Yet his ambitions ever savoured of “ paper and programme ”—they were things of phrases—giving the impression of having been learnt by rote—in short, Maximilian had ever something of the industrious scholar about him—of one who is ever over-anxious to repeat the precepts found in his lesson-book. Here was a man who, somehow or other, was not in tune either with life or with himself. . . . Most illuminating in this respect is a collection of common-place maxims he seems to have noted down when quite a young man, and—more remarkable still is the fact that up to the time of his death—which took place in his thirtieth year—he was still carrying this list about with him.

But perhaps the most significant thing of all about him is that he seems to have always done the very opposite thing to what—according to these carefully preserved maxims—would have been the right thing to do—Poor Max was made of no tough fibre. Indeed we may say that he was conspicuously lacking in energy, and further—he was undecided . . . qualities which nevertheless did not deter him from exhibiting at times the most mulish brand of obstinacy.

He had nothing of his elder brother's—Franz Joseph's—perseverance and passion for work. A “ soft ” life ; a “ go-as-you-please ” sort of existence, led him all too easily aside from the steep Path of Life which his burning ambition had nevertheless marked out for himself. Indeed, it frequently happened that—under the influence of some passing whim—he would deviate so completely from a really clever and excellent project that his momentary sense of well-being would induce him to perpetrate the exact opposite to what had been his original intention.

Archduke Ferdinand Max had been educated together with

his brother Franz, the future Emperor Franz Joseph, and, being his junior by only two years, had undergone the identical schooling and been subjected to the same meticulous methods of teaching as was the later Emperor of Austria. Yet the results were entirely different; for—while the dry, business-like character of Franz Joseph was entirely unresponsive to Art, Nature, Beauty and Science, indeed to everything that appeals to the higher side of man, Max did a little of everything and overflowed with enthusiasm for all the Arts. In his youth he painted and modelled: next he wrote poems, and published books . . . after which he became an enthusiastic architect. . . . It was he who converted what had been a mere barren rock at Miramar into a fairy garden. In one word, Max was a Dilettante. His verses were atrocious. Then, in his twenty-first year he published a book—"Out of my Life," wherein he lays down the dictum that "Art and Science are the sources of all content"! Then later, having been in Paris, he visits Versailles, regarding which he has the temerity to observe that he finds "Schönbrunn far more beautiful" . . . yes: in his opinion "the dignified style of our imperial pleasure palace has not been reached in this creation of Louis XIV."

While manœuvres and the chase were the sole diversions—the only pleasures of Franz Joseph, Max, on the other hand, adored Nature and the sea . . . he loved animals and flowers—but he was also equally enamoured of the good things of the table and knew how to relish them. When at Queretaro with his small garrison of soldiers and his half-dozen Generals—besieged by the Insurrectionists, making a last stand and having to forgo all but the most necessary commissariat,—he nevertheless took care not to forget his Burgundy. Indeed, the tenour of his life inclined ever towards comfort—towards ease, with the result that all discipline became irksome to him—inclining him to be the slave of his own passions.

An imperial Lackey (bearing such a genuinely servile name as—Sebastian Schertzenlechner!), who after first of all having been his personal attendant, and subsequently entrusted with his correspondence, was—later on—advanced to the post of a kind of Private Secretary—finally even, to that of a Mexican Councillor of State, as well as *Souschef* of the Cabinet;

and it is very possible that in the person of this man we have to do with a spy in the service of Vienna.

Max was one of those persons who are incredibly open to influence, and here the greatest variety of influences met and crossed—hence therefore the most dire confusion. This characteristic of his—as indeed so many others—showed his likeness to the last of the Habsburgs—the late Emperor Karl.

Max had a lively and ever-active imagination, but his reasoning powers, though acute, functioned on entirely impersonal and conventional lines. His excellent and wide range of culture seemed to be utterly at fault whenever a time of need arose, this being presumably due to his almost total lack of ability to reason a thing out. In personal intercourse he created a most favourable impression. He was a good talker, a quality which shows to advantage in his letters and dispatches, for they are full of a *live* interest and do not lack even a certain keenness . . . they also betray his predilection for gossip in which he probably took much pleasure.

Max was filled with a belief in the greatness of the House from which he sprang :—he believed firmly also in the Divine Mission of the Habsburgs. Indeed, this feeling amounted to a morbid passion, and in it we come to find the clue to his having fallen a victim to those sinister events in Mexico.

It is impossible that he should have met with so tragic a fate but for the blind belief he cherished in this high mission. At the time of his visit to Spain, when, hardly more than a child, he was taken to see the grave of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille, he gave expression to his exalted dream—to that desire to rehabilitate the Empire of the Habsburg upon which the sun had never descended.

This legendary greatness of the House of Habsburg was as real a thing to Franz Joseph as it ever was to his brother, whom it was to cost his life ; only—that in the case of Franz Joseph—no signs of morbid exaltation were ever apparent. His Habsburg pride was of a quite natural and compelling kind, and, perhaps, the most interesting peculiarity about him was the way in which he sought to impress his Habsburg Sovereignty on a world to which it was no longer suited. And,

indeed, the reason why Franz Joseph succeeded even as well as he did in this matter was primarily due to the fact that his instinctive feeling for the magnitude of his position was never consciously obtruded—he did not “think about it.” Max, on the other hand, never ceased thinking of the Greatness of the Habsburgs. He was morbidly sensitive on matters touching his own dignity, although, owing to his easy-going habits, he did not always live up to it. He was also exceedingly touchy and, as is always the case with weak natures, was ever on the *qui vive* for slights and suspicious of being taken advantage of. It is to this trait that most of the friction and misunderstandings with his imperial brother were due.

And now for the other side:—It *was* this Habsburg exaltation—this exaggerated consciousness of the sublimity of his Habsburg mission—that, when the darkest hour of his life was at hand, gave him sustaining strength: for all the reports of eye-witnesses are unanimous in testifying to the steadfast and heroic spirit in which he met his death on the *Cerro de la Campana* at Queretaro.

Max regarded himself as a “Liberal,” and the popularity he enjoyed among the ranks of the progressive Bourgeoisie was due to this reputation for “liberal leanings.” In 1866, when Franz Joseph for the first time drove out to Königgrätz, he was subjected to the annoying experience of hearing the discontented Viennese raise their cheers on behalf of Max. Yet Max was probably as little aware of the meaning of the term “liberal” as was the Emperor Karl, in later days,—who, indeed, regarded himself as a “socialist” Ruler, and was presumably equally at sea as to the meaning of Socialism. The fact is that Archduke Max stood in sort of “sulky opposition” to a worm-eaten system of reaction wherein cracks and rents were already giving warning of the impending collapse. Yet this opposition was neither conscious nor active—nor was there any system about it; it originated in a head unused to clear thinking and could for this very reason never hope to bring any influence to bear on the Emperor. Systematic work was never in the Archduke’s line, indeed—he was never quite sure as to what he really did want.

In his dispatches he—Max, the Liberal—attacks the style

of Napoleon III's court in language of scathing contempt, noting the absence of that stiff etiquette common to the Court of Vienna, while his ridicule of his father-in-law, the King of the Belgians' Court, is even greater. It was here that he for the first time came into contact with an actually democratic and constitutionally governed country. "The whole concern was bound to give any unprejudiced person a feeling of disgust for all such institutions." And—as Statthalter of Venice and Lombardy—his liberal principles, much to the annoyance of his brother, found vent in practically fawning on a local and feudal aristocracy which was bent on hating Austria.

Yet, as Emperor of Mexico, he gave himself up to the idea that in a country where the middle-class element consisted of Indians and half-castes, engaged in waging a war of freedom against the Spanish Exploiters of the land, it might be possible to retain his position as Ruler over both parties. Yet it was but natural that under the circumstances he was bound ultimately to throw in his fortunes with the Army of the Mexican Reactionaries, and that, too, at the very time when theirs was a forlorn hope. As a devout pilgrim he sought succour of the Pope, doing so, however, when Austria and the Vatican were not on the best of terms, and his visit, therefore, could be of no service to either side. Judging from the manner in which he alluded to this incident it would seem as if he could have had no idea that *any* attitude assumed towards the Ultramontane question was enough to decide—or at all events to indicate as to whether a person was a Liberal, or not.

Franz Joseph and Max, who—as we have stated—had been brought up together, were in their youth much attached to each other. But the older they grew the more frigid became the relations between them. Max, full of enthusiasm, impatience and wavering ambitions, took himself to be a genius. Even in those early days there had been a certain bitterness and resentment in the knowledge that the chance of primogeniture had made his brother an Emperor, and in later years he sought again and again to bring his influence to bear upon Franz Joseph in affairs where his ruling power was concerned. Max constantly sought advancement for himself, and he was never weary of renewing his offers of assistance to the Emperor,

whose tactful refusals of all such interference were both frigid and final.

It was obviously apparent that Franz Joseph distrusted his brother's rash and undecided temperament—one which was nevertheless ever aspiring after great things;—traits which were so at variance with his own commonplace, careful and cautious character. And here, indeed, Franz Joseph showed himself to be something of a judge of persons, when he vetoed such excitable and suspicious characters as Max from being about him, and from having to do with his affairs. Max was a constant source of anxiety and of sorrow to Franz Joseph, and to know that he was distant from the centre of activities was ever a relief.

It is evident that the Emperor was doing his best to keep his brother out of all active mischief when he placed him in command of the Austrian Fleet—at that time scarcely “in being”—even on paper; when on other occasions he sent him journeying to distant lands, or on missions of not too important a diplomatic nature; or, again, where the Archduke's business had to consist in representing his brother.

Then, when Max married, Franz Joseph—in making him *Statthalter* of Lombardy and Venice—can have done so with none too light a heart. The appointment was indeed partly made in deference to Max's father-in-law, the King of the Belgians, although it was one which would have had to be filled under any circumstances. Yet, when in 1859, war broke out Franz Joseph simply ignored his brother, recalling him without the slightest consideration for his rank . . . a matter which the sensitive young man never forgave as long as he lived.

Apart from these essential and deep-seated contradictions which instinctively antagonized Franz Joseph and Max, there was ever the historic contrast of “the Sovereign” and “the Prince” . . . of King and Viceregent; and the poisonous effect of this age-long opposition became accentuated by the popularity this young Prince enjoyed with the public—a popularity which was far in excess of any accorded to the Emperor himself. And it was thus that jealousy between the two grew apace. We feel very sure that, had it not been for his own desire to be free of this impatient, disturbing and in-

ordinately ambitious brother, France Joseph would never have consented to the Mexican adventure.

There can be little doubt, indeed it may be regarded as an historical fact, that Franz Joseph was nervously jealous in all matters touching his own power and supremacy, and when—in 1861—a scheme originating in England was put forward whereby an independent Hungary, with Archduke Max at its head, was mooted, he would seem to have been almost inclined to entertain the idea . . . but the thought of a Habsburg Prince upon a South American throne, increasing the power of the House from which he sprang, was distasteful to a plain man such as Franz Joseph.

Some years later when the question arose of placing an Austrian Archduke in authority over the Danubian Principalities, he expressed his candid opinion in a similar case with some acuteness :—

“ The first Ruler,” he writes to count Buol, “ might possibly adhere in some degree to his family, but the second would most certainly break away, and have no other interests in view than those of his new country.” And here we may say that Max lost all feeling for the family-tie the very first time opportunity offered. When he was about to ascend his new throne Franz Joseph insisted that he should first of all issue a formal Document of State renouncing henceforward all his rights as a Member of the Family House and thus retire from the Habsburg Family. This was a time of grim dissension between the brothers ; a struggle was waged in which the Emperor showed how implacable he could be, and he finally attained his wish.

But from the beginning to the end the relations between the courts of Vienna and of Mexico was strained, if not to say actually hostile. Franz Joseph, it is true, did not fail to send an army corps as auxiliary help, this having been in accordance with an agreement of an earlier date, but his Diplomats felt, and did not hesitate to imply, that they were accredited to a Court with which that of Vienna was not on terms of friendship. Then, when Max's life became more and more endangered, Franz Joseph simply “ forgot ” his brother . . . at least, no other explanation would seem possible. Indeed, we *are*

bound to assume that he forgot him, for otherwise it would be impossible to comprehend the utter lack of anxiety and solicitude shown with regard to the unhappy man caught in the toils of so sinister a fate.

The tragedy enacted at Queretaro did not move Franz Joseph in the least. We are not judging the Emperor by the fact that at the time he received those terrible tidings, he—being at the time engaged on the routine of state affairs—continued his work, as though nothing particular had happened: nor even because, immediately after the execution at Queretaro, he actually received Napoleon III, whom all the world—but more especially the French nation—held to be the murderer of Maximilian . . . received him together with the Empress Eugénie, she who had instigated this Mexican project . . . entertaining them amicably at Salzburg:—no! what has impressed us far more in this matter is that in the year 1867, on the very day and at the very same hour at which he was in the habit of starting on his summer holiday, he drove off to Ischl . . . to the Chase. This is the first of these innumerable instances in which we have had occasion to note Franz Joseph's nothing less than monumental Callousness.

ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN'S DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

Above all things Max loved the sea: he also delighted in travel—especially when his journeys took him to distant and exotic countries. In 1850, when eighteen years of age, he visited Spain, the littoral of Asia Minor, and of South America. Then, when at twenty-two he was appointed to the supreme command of the Navy, he became entrusted with foreign missions.

As Admiral of the Fleet he frequented the Italian coast, Albania and Asia Minor. In Albania he had espoused the cause of the Catholic population, and when he was in Asia Minor it fell to him to report on the feuds between the Roman-Catholic and the Greek-Catholic churches. His unpublished letters on this subject are of some interest, and it is our intention to include them in a future collection.

After the Crimean war, which had been so detrimental to

the prestige of Austria, and also at the close of the Treaty of Paris, at which Austria had practically no voice at all in the matters under discussion, Franz Joseph sent his brother Max to the French Court to visit the representatives of that young imperial Power. Max's reports and the impressions he had received in Paris have already been published in Corti's work on Maximilian, and in reply thereto we shall here give rejoinders from Emperor Franz Joseph to those missives received from his brother.

LAXENBURG, 1st June, 1856.

DEAR MAX !

In the first place I must thank you for your report which has interested me greatly. I gather from it that your activities in Paris have been very successful. Indeed I hear nothing but complimentary accounts from every quarter, so feel assured that your visit will bear lasting fruit. For this also my warmest thanks !

I have made arrangements also for you to go to Hanover, as I could not say no to the wish expressed by the poor blind King, who is so loyal to us. Since you left here the instructions touching Berlin have undergone some modifications. The feelings entertained for us in that quarter have become distinctly less cordial, while at the same time they are perpetually trumpeting that we stand in need of Prussia's help and support, owing to the difficulty of our position in Italy.

Now this is by no means the case, and we should on no account permit ourselves to appear anxious of securing the help of Prussia. What Berlin really wants is that we should petition her—so as to be refused ! I have had the enclosed "Memoranda" put together for you : they contain everything required so as to put you *au courant* with the situation. On no account should you take any step such as might encourage the King to suggest a renewal of the Treaty of Guarantees ; for the present moment would be the very worst for anything of the kind. It would only be if the King himself were to broach the subject that it might be well for you to tell him that I, in the interests of Germany as a whole, and for the sake of her peace and safety, should be quite ready to enter

into a renewal of such mutual German guarantees of all Austrian and Prussian possessions. But it would have to be a mutually German business—and therefore one for the consideration of the Bund. Italy is not giving us any trouble; and the Piedmontese Government has been more use than harm to us—even in Italy—by its ceaseless chatter.

The point in regard to the press, as well as that respecting the conditions of the German Bund, remain intact as originally set down in your first instructions.

In the hope of having you with us soon again,—in the best of health,

I remain your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

THE EMPEROR CONSPIRES

To the above letter as found in the Archives another has been added: one which is indeed one of the most interesting manuscripts emanating from Franz Joseph's hand. It constitutes a supplement, as it were, to the above, but the contents indicate that it must have been written a month earlier than the letter, although it is essentially in relation to the same.

It consists of hastily scribbled down notes—the fragmentary sketch for a diplomatic document framed by the Emperor himself, to serve as a guide to his Minister for Foreign Affairs. The presence of this document as well as its contents serve as interesting proofs that—at the time Buol was in office—(one of the most unfortunate epochs for Austria's Foreign Policy, being that of the Crimean war and the Congress of Paris) the young Emperor held the reins of Government so much in his own hands—did so much himself, that he even relieved the Ballhausplatz of much of its ordinary official work. It is obvious that notes, such as these, served as reminders, so that the Emperor—before giving audience to Count Buol—was fully decided as to what he intended should be included in the documents put before him by his Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Before us lie the “drafts” for two such sets of “Instructions”—delivered to Max when in May, 1856 he undertook his diplomatic journey to Berlin. As shown by the various parti-

culars contained in these fragments, the Instructions took the form of an "aide mémoire," while, if desirable, their contents could be given verbally.

These memoranda reveal some concern as to the Italian possessions. This could hardly come as a surprise: for, since the Paris Congress, the Italian question—then brought on to the *tapis* by Cavour (owing to Napoleon's encouragement)—had assumed the threatening aspect of a *European Question*. Max had, it is true, at the time of his visit to Paris sent home tranquillizing messages as to Napoleon's intentions, still, Austrian diplomacy gave itself up to no false dreams on that score, and felt that, sooner or later, Napoleon would launch a war on Italy's behalf.

In the closing paragraph of these Instructions to which the Archduke then in Paris was to adhere we meet with one of those clever "turns" by which Austrian diplomacy—then seemingly bereft of all sense—yet sought to justify itself . . . namely, an observation to the effect that Austria, by her strict neutrality towards the combatant parties, had both prevented the extension as well as the prolongation of the Crimean war. According to one message from Max, Napoleon had shown some surprise when this view of the case had been advanced—though this will hardly have been due to the amazing strength of the argument . . . !

The form of speech used in these imperial notes is interesting, for they are made up of a *mélange* of "diplomatic"—French and German, while the French portions, although showing the colloquial ease of expression, natural to one who is conversant with the tongue, fail lamentably in the matter of grammar and orthography—indeed, both are primitively child-like. It is obviously the work of one who is accustomed to speak the language, giving his phrases the diplomatic turn, yet who has had little practice in expressing himself in writing.

Addenda to the Laxenburg Letter of 1st June, 1856:—

Paris

L'Alliance amicale, toujours la plus precieuse amitié, quand on reste dans la voie pacifique.—Pour l'Italie sa M. tiendera

qu'on ne fasse pas sans se concernant ; pour les états pontifs le Conte Colorodo est apporteur d'idées réformatoires *die er mit den Franzosen vorbringen muss*. Il ne faut jamais donner le moindre espoir au révolutionnaire, et pour cela toujours vigiler sur le Piedmont qu'est le foyer des mauvais tendances.—

(A friendly alliance is ever the best of friendships when the aims are pacific. H.M. desires that nothing should be done with regard to Italy without acquainting him therewith. In regard to the Papal States Count Colorodo brings forward reformatory ideas which he will have to advance together with France. No hope should ever be given to the revolutionaries, for which reason watch Piedmont, for it is the centre of evil tendencies.)

(The following observations are entirely in German.)

Austria is not on sufficiently good terms with Piedmont to be able to prevent the posting of troops along the Parma frontier. France, however, might bring this about in a friendly manner, and would thus in all probability be preventing any difficult issues, since otherwise, Austria may be obliged to send troops too.

Many complaints are coming from Naples as to the evil state of things obtaining there ; indeed, our traditional policy would seem to be meeting with opposition in that quarter. Care must be taken in Italy so that the revolutionary party may find no excuse to *réveiller le chat qui dore*.

(The mixture as before.)

L'Autriche comprend que la France a dû défendre son honneur, *aber auch Oesterreich kannte seine Pflicht und wenn es einen endlosen Krieg durch nicht einschreiten vorgebeugt hat, Oesterreich hat Alles ohne Krieg erreicht und durch die Besetzung der Fürstentümer den Fall von Sepastopel möglich gemacht und der Friede ist endlich Oesterreich hauptsächlich zu danken.*—

(Austria understands that France was bound to defend her honour, but Austria too knew her duty, and if she herself avoided entering upon an interminable war, she has at all events attained much without fighting, for, by means of

occupying the Principalities, she made the fall of Sevastopol possible, so that the peace may, in fine, be considered as mainly due to Austria.)

Prussia

There will have to be unity and goodwill on both sides. This will make us secure from the cross-fire which is threatening Germany.

Might it not be feasible to work in accordance with the laws laid down by the *Bundestag*? ameliorating the conditions of the classes; getting rid of futile institutions; this, too, can only be brought about by unity. A renewal of the Treaty is most desirable, even if not actually necessary. (Private instructions.)

VIENNA, 7 June, 1856.

DEAR MAX!

I cannot allow Kundrath (the Messenger who had brought Max's dispatches from Paris) to return to you without thanking you most sincerely for your interesting report, and telling you how much I appreciate your continued activities in Paris. You have managed the Emperor most cleverly and also with much tact . . . and have thus essentially improved our relations to France as also indeed our future position. I embrace you with all my heart!

FRANZ.

THE "WISE NESTOR"

After having acquitted himself of his diplomatic missions, Max betook himself to Brussels, on the look-out for a wife.

The following allusions, although throwing out hints as to an event the consummation of which was being subjected to some delays, are in reference therefore to the betrothal of Max to Princess Charlotte of Belgium.

Though practically settled, its proclamation tarried, nor was this due to any specially "royal" reasons. The King of the Belgians, who by a series of cleverly-engineered marriages had come into relationship with many of the reigning European Families, and who regarded himself as the "Nestor" among contemporary sovereigns, loved to impress on all that—by

reason of his wisdom and successful career—he deemed himself exonerated . . . in short—he jibbed at giving his daughter anything in the way of a *dot*! Over and above her maternal portion and the Marriage “gift” subscribed to by a loyal nation, she was not to get a *centime*! Now, this question gave rise to a lengthy and somewhat unedifying quarrel, the final solution to which was that Franz Joseph put down a hundred-thousand Gulden for his sister-in-law, while “canny” Nestor, who was not to be moved from his point, added a small “rente,” by way of “pin-money.”

ISCHL, 13 October, 1856.

DEAR MAX!

Many thanks for your good wishes for my Name-day; I know that they come from a true heart. I wish I were able to congratulate *you* on a far more joyful event, but Nestor the Wise seems to be the cause of further delays. I was under the impression that travelling expenses were included in the fifty-thousand florins paid from last October up to now; but should this not have been so, as I seem to gather from your letter, do write and tell me, so that I may know how the matter stands.

As we are not due in Venice until the 25th November we shall probably arrive in Trieste on the 20th, travelling there from Laibach, thus meeting the wish of the Trieste population by arriving during the daytime. Mutius's programme, as forwarded by you, is not open to any objections . . . only be sure that the festivities *as set down* are adhered to, in order that the forenoons may be kept free for inspecting institutions; receiving officials, etc., etc. Thus the four mornings of our stay would be divided between Muggia and all the Naval establishments; followed by dinner with you; then the following day part of the morning would be spent at Lloyds and the two next forenoons might be kept free for Civil and Military affairs.

On the evening of the 24th, or the morning of the 25th, we intend that the beautiful fleet of steamers shall convey us to Venice and I am looking forward to that event with pleasure. There is, therefore, still time for you to attend Karl's wedding; should you care to—up to now Ludwig has not had permission to go.

I am completely satisfied with all the details relating to the

expedition from Venice to Pola, and I shall be delighted to see the Fleet once more and feel assured also that I shall find it greatly improved.

In the hope of seeing you again shortly,

I remain your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

ITALIAN WORRIES

In our letter mention has already been made regarding a journey taken by the Emperor and Empress to Vienna. This trip took place towards the close of 1856 and the beginning of 1857.

Bach had taken the initiative in this matter, and—if viewed as an omen of the perfect and careful consolidation of these two countries, Italy and Hungary, which had so recently been in revolt—this visit should have led to changes such as Austria's isolation in Foreign Politics stood in need of. These visits to the Italian Provinces were to be the signal for an immediate system of Civil Government, separate and apart from the military régime. Ever since the revolution of 1848-49 the Military Chief of the Army garrisoned in the conquered country had also acted as Head of Civil affairs, and this régime had been both inhuman and revolting. The excesses which had distinguished the soldiery of the Austrian army in Italy were regarded with horror throughout Europe. It was at this time of increasing strain in Austria's foreign policy that the visit of the Emperor and Empress to Italy took place, his intention being that the severities practised in accordance with the existing methods used should be modified and a separate form of Civil Government introduced. The Emperor's idea was that Max should become the Head of this new form of Government, bearing the title of Imperial Statthalter, and the following communications deal with Max's reply from Milan in respect of this new dignity his brother had conferred on him.

By way of introduction we shall give some letters which the Emperor, then in Venice, had addressed to his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Buol-Schauenstein, for these are

no less significant in regard to the condition of Italy at the time of Max's acceptance of this viceregal post, than for the superlatively personal manner in which the Emperor was then in the habit of conducting his affairs of state.

DEAR COUNT BUOL,

Yesterday I granted my free pardon to seventy political offenders in the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice. As this number constitutes the greater proportion of the total—some 120 persons being guilty of similar offences—(although in some quarters the number has been given as higher)—I have commanded Count Thun to make a careful and accurate list, giving the correct number and also classified details respecting the offenders. Now, I should be glad if you would use this list as subject-matter for a report to be sent to our more important Foreign Missions; not actually as an *official* communication, but rather that the Ambassadors may be placed in a position to reply to any questions put to them, or to correct any erroneous impressions.

I have further granted remission for sequestrations and it is my desire that this action on my part may be regarded as one of *mercy* and not merely as a measure taken to pacify Piedmont.

As the Pope has sent Cardinal Viale Prelà here to welcome us, and as—according to Hübner's letter—a similar step may be anticipated—at Turin, will you give me your views—based upon precedents as to whether such missions should be reciprocated to or not. The grand complication seems now to be nearing its close—and without, I trust, that undignified comedy in which Piedmont was expected to appear as the *deus ex machinâ*.

Here all are agreed as to the present being the most opportune moment for evacuating Parma, and I am only waiting for the Duchess so as to get the matter settled.

We shall not be able to go to Modena and Florence until after our séjour in Milan.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Venice, 3rd December, 1856.

MAXIMILIAN AS VICEROY

As will be seen by the following letter, old Radetzky had to vacate his post, and the power his veteran hand had so long held united now being shared. The Military Command was handed over to Count Gyulay, while Archduke Max was appointed Chief of the Civil Administration.

When this change in affairs was made known to the old Field-Marshal he muttered: "Let them do as they like!" and was glad enough to retire and rest his bones in the Castle of Monza, to say nothing of the prospect of drawing a tidy sum in the form of an Imperial Grant. The young Emperor had become aware that not a little in the administration of Italian affairs called for change, but he regarded these defects as mere "lapses" and errors; on the whole he was by no means discontented with the system that had so far obtained, and therefore did not even dream of putting a summary end to the same. In the fight for Freedom being waged here by a highly cultivated, and highly developed people, rich in a conscious belief as to the future it was struggling to attain—in all this he could see no more than "insubordination" . . . an expression which slips from his pen with a suspicious frequency in connexion with these Italian events.

But this Civil Administration was only to exist on paper and in name. Max, who owed the post of Statthalter to the intervention of his father-in-law—(the latter being desirous that his daughter's husband should fill some position of distinction which would at the same time be sufficiently "showy")—Max, himself, was disappointed. He had hoped that here he would at length find his true *milieu*, one that might satisfy his ambitions. The Emperor, however, seemed at that time even less inclined than he was later to remove the executive power from those who had hitherto held command. One of the reasons for the changes in Italy—and certainly not the least of them—had to do with the fact that Grünne, the all-powerful Adjutant-General to the Emperor, was the actual Leader of an Army Command which furnished the War Office with Agents. Grünne indeed was a man with whom old

Radetzky had already had some difficulty in working with, since he and Benedek (his Chief of the Staff) knew how to come to Terms with a totally independent sphere of influence—and this outside the circle of Grünne's authority. Gyulay, who was Grünne's friend and creature, could command but little respect as Military Chief, while no serious difficulties were to be expected from Max.

For these reasons the Italian Administration remained as before a Military one and the *rôle* of Civil Statthalter was confined to that of Representative, the whole difference consisting therein that the affairs of the two provinces were from this time onward administered from Vienna and not from Verona, and were subject to the control of the imperial Army Council.

It is possible that Max—had he known how to set about it—might have commanded some measure of respect in Vienna, and might thus have rendered some service to Italy, although by that time the Italian provinces were already lost and a more humane and moderate administration would probably have hastened, rather than retarded the rupture. But the following letters will show that Emperor Franz Joseph—partly from jealousy and partly from distrust of his brother's rhapsodical, unbalanced nature, together with his lack of experience and judgment, was loth to give him any power of administration whatever: indeed, his tone is that of an indulgent Schoolmaster addressing some raw schoolboy. . . . The letter given below and which is addressed to Count Buol tells the story of Radetzky's retirement and the appointment of Archduke Max.

DEAR COUNT BUOL!

Excursions to Rovigno and Chioggia as well as much business from Vienna have prevented me from writing to thank you for your interesting reports: Field-marshal Radetzky has asked to be relieved of his present post. I have asked him to carry on affairs as he has hitherto done until I arrive in Milan and am able to decide as to the future. For the short remainder of his life I shall give him an annuity of 80,000 Florins, and free residential quarters either at Monza or in the Augarten, at Vienna. Further, I do not desire that

this should be regarded in the light of retirement on a *pension*—for this never takes place in the case of a Field-marshal—but simply that he is being released from his arduous duties, having now reached so advanced an age. Thank God, the old gentleman is well content, and so the most difficult part has been satisfactorily accomplished.

It is most desirable that the present state of things in Vienna should be brought to an end. When in Milan I shall endeavour to facilitate my further projects and shall then need your counsel, as well as those of Bach and Bruck. I should be glad, therefore, if the present political conjunction of affairs permits of so doing, for you, Bach and Bruck to arrive in Milan by about the 15th or 16th of January. One reason why I particularly desire the presence of the Minister of Finance is that I want to talk over with him certain important questions respecting the taxation of these provinces. Bach should bring with him all documents relating to the present organization of the General Government, as well as those connected with the Viceroy's former sphere of action.

I intend to nominate my brother, Ferdinand Max, to the Chief Command of Civil Affairs, he having declared himself willing to accept those duties. I know of none who would be more suitable to a post—in a country moreover where the most requisite thing is to have a decorous Court such as can deal firmly with the unruliness of these people, and thus administer the cure. It is only since I came here that I have become convinced of the desirability of severing the Military Administration from the Civil Government—the former being entrusted to very firm hands. Moreover this army, imbued as it is with the finest traditions, needs a master capable of putting an end to the numerous persistent evils which have crept in since the campaigning days—more especially in connexion with billeting—while the troops should at the same time be kept at their present pitch of fitness. I have not detected anything in the way of interference with Civil affairs from the side of the Army Command; in fact, the intercourse between the Military and Civil Officials has struck me as being much better than rumours which had reached me in Vienna would have led me to suppose. It is only where this master-

less General Government is concerned that so much hopeless confusion becomes apparent. In Bologna perfect concord reigns, but the social-political conditions are such that it is quite impossible to foresee when the Roman Government will be able to think of withdrawing our troops.

The only complaints in our provinces here are—firstly, those in respect of the taxes which—taking into consideration the bad state of the harvest—are really oppressive, while the manner in which these are levied also meets with much objection . . . and secondly, that the condition of the officers' quarters in certain districts needs attending to ; all other causes of unpleasantness—especially in Lombardy—are due to the bad spirit obtaining among the higher officials and their ineradicable fear of the revolutionary party, as well as of the Piedmontese Press which they hold up to public contumely whenever it has taken a step in the right direction. It is unbelievable the way the Authorities at Piedmont organize and stir things up so as to ruin our visit to Milan. The threads of all these machinations find their centre in Cavour's Ministry. All kinds of horrors are persistently spread abroad concerning Lombardy so as to prevent that poor country from ever settling down in peace. It is my wish that the projects I have touched on in this letter may not be made known.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Venice, 27 December, 1856.

AN INTERCEPTED TELEGRAM FROM THE KING OF PRUSSIA

The political correspondence which passed between Franz Joseph and his brother concerning Italian affairs place both the Emperor's political faith as well as his attitude towards life in full relief—indeed these may be given in two words:—the "Holy Alliance."

These letters are proof of that child-like simplicity with which he and those about him actually believed in the permanent value—the supreme excellence—and the immovable and irrefutable truth represented by the Ideas which governed this Holy Alliance. To the mind of Franz Joseph the world stood divided under two headings: it was "good" or it was "bad." Again and again do we find these expressions

recur; and everything is "bad" that does not conform to the ideas of this same Holy Alliance. While on the other hand, all that is in agreement with its views is approved of as "good." Nor was this ethical-political dualism on his part a pose; there was no hypocrisy about it; indeed, it may be found to pervade quite a number of documents which have to do with Austria's policy (this remark refers more especially to the more supine post-Schwarzenberg era). This fiction to the effect that the Holy Alliance was still an active force in Europe, when, as a matter of fact, it was no more than a kind of Patent Medicine in the "cure-all" properties of which none but the Court at Vienna then believed, gives the cue to much which would otherwise seem enigmatical. The Administrative decrees which voiced its absolute power were measures suitable for using in the fight against what was "bad," and the Repeal Act seems to explain how Franz Joseph (who was by no means insensible to being styled a "cavalier") came to tolerate—even without the least apparent compunction—such acts of violence as those which included the dragging of women to the whipping-post, to say nothing of those crafty agents who flourished so exceedingly, as also a "Cabinet noir," which, industrious as any hive of bees, gave full support to that administration.

The following letter shows the perfectly self-assured manner with which Franz Joseph sets out to tell his brother—bidding him at the same time hold his peace—how the Cabinet noir, serving his ever-watchful Police System, had also intercepted a telegram of the King of Prussia's. . . . The Emperor had always shown very considerable interest in the Italian Police; indeed, as may be gathered from the many references to be found in his letters to Max, he regarded this force as by no means the least important part of the Italian Administration. Now, let no one imagine that Franz Joseph ever underwent any change: not that he failed at a later date to give heed to those new conditions by accommodating himself to the constitutional forms to which he had been forced to yield . . . much in the same way that this is also done by the Catholic Church.

Franz Joseph succeeded in being—as far as outward appear-

ances went—a “Constitutional” Ruler, but—in his soul—to the innermost fibre of his being—he still remained what he had been before and after the Army’s sanguinary repressions of civil revolution had raised him to the throne, and it was as Patron and Knight of this renewed Holy Alliance that he took his place upon that throne. . . .

On 28th February, 1857, the Emperor arrived in Milan and Max was proclaimed Statthalter on the same day. The Archduke who had so fervently looked forward to this appointment seemed in no hurry, now that the position was secured, to take up his office, and for months to come he was occupied with affairs connected with his coming marriage. Then, after he had at length returned to Milan, he soon departed once more for Brussels there to celebrate his wedding. It was therefore August before the Viceregal Court actually came into being.

The letter we now print is one from the Emperor written in response to Max’s first report from Milan; one written before the marriage, and he is deeply concerned lest Maximilian’s love of popularity and hankering after independence should disturb his (the Emperor’s) administrative policy in Italy. The “grave irregularities” alluded to in Franz Joseph’s reply point to a peculiarity of the Italian administration of finance, which looks very much as though old Radetzky had in his day been busy plundering this particularly rich province. For the sum of 1,500 Gulden anyone had been able to purchase his release from the obligation of military service, and the army itself was always ready to find the substitute among the ranks of their old soldiers to whom a re-enlistment was granted. But in Italy these sums of money paid for substitutes were systematically put to other uses, while the authorities called upon the parishes to make up the full contingent of recruits—just as though no forfeit whatever had been extorted.

Count Zichy, who had been appointed to the Archduke’s service, was in all probability a very “smart” man-of-business . . . and Franz Joseph, who was a good judge of men, must also have been well acquainted with the count, for he tells his brother that Zichy’s particular weakness is for “doing a

deal." Indeed, it was in consequence of a little transaction of this kind that this deeply conservative aristocrat came to figure—at a later date and in Hungary—in a somewhat unpleasant and even unsavoury affair.

VIENNA, 4 April, 1857.

DEAR MAX!

I am glad to know that you are in Venice and at work—for any further Interregnum would have been detrimental to affairs. As I had expected, your own good sense has not allowed the frigid reception at Venice to discourage you; and if you are able to go your ways without taking much notice of such matters things will improve. These illegal demonstrations, however, and this unruly behaviour, must cease. The perpetrators will have to be run to earth and punished. Severity must be exercised, yet with justice, and without any trace of rancour. The coldness of the Venetians seems to have been principally due to jealousy of the Milanese. Is it true that a *Tricolor* flag was flying from the Arsenal? How could it have been possible for this to have been run up on the Piazza San Marco—with the gas lamps alight and the sentries about? And how does it come that it was not hauled down till so late? Further, is it true that the recruiting in the Lombardy Venetian Kingdoms has been accompanied by grave irregularities, such as have inflamed popular feeling? To all these inquiries please send me brief replies.

I yesterday received the report which relates to your Retinue: the members will soon be on their way—with the exception of Countess Zichy, who has once again left us in the lurch. Mama and I have done everything we can to persuade her to accept the post, but she refuses . . . owing to ill-health—the education of her children—etc., etc. It is a pity, for she would have been just the right person. I rather think that her husband had made sure of her acceptance before saying anything to her about it and then when he went back and told her she refused! It is most tiresome! Mama is cudgelling her brains to find a substitute—and so am I! Please think the matter over yourself, and then write and let me know. Zichy will be with you in the course of a few

days. I think he will answer right enough. He lays great stress on being appointed President of the Italian Railways, a post which in point of fact is really quite an important one, but do not be in too great a hurry about this at first; it will be better to wait and see whether it can be worked jointly with his new post. He is a smart and active man, intimately connected with the old-conservative *clique*, who will remain staunch to him, and thus seek to gain their own ends. It is quite possible that he may be inclined to take upon himself more than can well be combined with the post he now occupies, so you had better keep an eye on him. But if made to feel a firm hand he is capable of excellent service. Owing to an intercepted telegram (this in all privacy) I have come to know that the King of Prussia is leaving Berlin on 14th April for Rome. Leaving Trieste he will arrive in Ancona early on the 19th or 20th: I am only telling you this so that the "Elisabeth" may be put in order and made ship-shape against all eventualities. Should I hear anything officially I will telegraph to you and you would then have to receive the King at Trieste. But, as I have said, I have only come by the news "under the rose," as it were, so keep it to yourself.

Adieu, dear Max; God be with you!

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

THE EMPEROR AS POLICEMAN

There had been no hard and fast line set to the Archduke's sphere of influence where his new position as Viceroy of Lombardy and Venice was concerned. It is not too much to say that the appointment was in the main an honorary one. He went the tour of his provinces and received a few of the Lombardian aristocrats who happened to have held aloof from the well-organized boycott their peers had imposed and who wished to have audiences with the "Habsburger." It was really Gyulay, resident at Verona, who governed, instructions being also received from Vienna. From time to time however the young Viceroy, overcome by ambitious desire, sought to take the reins of government into his own

hands, but his energy was neither persistent enough nor sufficiently purposeful to be effective. Yet this division of labour should in some measure have satisfied the Archduke, for it was open to him to show leniency and goodwill in contradistinction to the harsher methods adopted by the Administration. But with the exception of the grant of a few amnesties and one or two outward changes in the administrative concerns of Lombardy and Venice, little alteration had taken place since the retirement of Radetzky. Thus Lombardy and Venice remained what they had hitherto been—huge and extravagantly conducted courts.

The sudden "gusts" of mercy which had attacked Max—and which had remained unnoticed—did not amount to much, and this because he lacked not only the requisite strength to act, but because he, too, was quite ready, in case of stress, to have recourse to sanguinary measures of oppression. The following letter will serve to show the monarch once more in the capacity of a Superintendent of Police of his own Realms—as the personal Leader of an unlimited apparatus for "safeguarding"—and as the competent expert of this indispensable method of government which distinguished Bach's term of office.

One characteristic of the Emperor should be borne in mind: from his youth upward he had been familiar with all the functions which fall to the political police: indeed, he had been initiated into the secrets of their very shadiest practices. As a matter of course the details of every demonstration—every row—had been reported to him. The manner in which the activities of the State's Secret Police were conducted in these Italian provinces was regarded throughout Europe as a disgrace; but not only did Franz Joseph demand that he should be kept posted in all that concerned their dirty work, he seems even to have entered with enthusiasm into what he refers to as "an important branch" of the administration.

The Ministry of Police was a very important Ministry: even though its official name was merely that of "Chief Office of Police." In 1853, however, it became independent of Bach's Ministry for Home Affairs, and came immediately under the rule of the Emperor himself.

The Chief Superintendent of Police for Austria, Field-Marshal Lieutenant von Kempen, who had formerly stood at the head of the *Gendarmerie*, received a seat and a vote in the Council of Ministers (an Assembly which bore the delightfully "pre-March"¹ title of "Ministerial Conference"), and this official became one of Franz Joseph's most intimate and confidential co-workers. The Kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice constituted not only an important part of the Administration—but were in themselves, as it were, the "Administration" . . . for this was in all essentials regulated by the State Police. In these parts, "governing"—with the exception of a few attempts at forwarding economic progress—consisted merely in systematic repression.

At the time to which our letter refers, some slight amount of relief had been introduced. The Authorities had, for instance, granted permission for proclamations to be made in the theatres (these being usually couched in allegorical terms), a revival of what had in former days been customary. No longer did two Gendarmes, with fixed bayonets, flank either side of the stage, where their primitive habit of spitting on to the boards, enraged, rather than amused the Italian audience. Yet Franz Joseph was not altogether quite content with this new régime of the "easy hand." Those constant demonstrations at the theatres; also the tone which the Leaders in certain newspapers had begun to assume, as well as those very unpleasant scimmages engineered by the Students, were quite contrary to his desire. Up to the time of the Imperial visit, in 1857, and until Max's appointment as viceroy, this Kingdom of Lombardy had been a land of executions: of floggings: of confiscations of fortunes . . . everywhere the most brutal reprisals were the order of the day, and both the Military and the Police Authorities had come to enjoy a justly evil name throughout Europe.

Even women were subjected to the bastinado many years after Haynau, after the repression of the Revolution, nor were such acts of rare occurrence, for in 1856, the year before the Imperial visit, two well-known and popular actresses and singers went to the whipping-post, and were subjected to a

¹ i.e. pre-revolutionary.

round number of strokes, because they had taken part in a patriotic gathering at the theatre. And this instance of flogging was even carried out at the fortress in Milan, with the assistance of the Authorities and in the presence of Austrian Officers.

The present letter testifies to the fact that such violence was by no means unknown to the Emperor, and the statements put forward by so many writers to the effect that the fault lay at the door of the Army *clique* cannot hold water, for Franz Joseph had himself been responsible for the organization of his Ministry of Police, and was therefore privy to everything emanating from that quarter.

He seems also to have held the opinion that whatever was due to the Emperor—and be it the most dastardly action—must inevitably bear the stamp of royal dignity. Indeed, but for this *idée fixe*—how would it have been possible for him to have actively concerned himself with the business of a professional detective . . . with all the complicated tricks of an *agent provocateur* . . . fitting himself, in fact, to hold the post of expert in his own *Cabinet noir*! Yes, indeed, the Emperor was also the Emperor of *agents provocateurs*! of blusterers and of such who are not above scourging women. But he was even more still—since he was, in a certain sense, the Emperor of the Police! as this curious coincidence will show: for he is the same man who up to his latest days ever displayed the most conspicuous gallantry towards women.

His courtesy was never at fault, indeed, he was famed for his chivalry and had ever shown such qualities as might justly have secured him the reputation of being a Cavalier. There would seem therefore to have been some curious dissonance between these different qualities marking, on the one side, his treatment of the Italian lady-singers, and on the other that which he was ever ready to exhibit to those ladies who were his more intimate acquaintances, yet one which may not be quite so unaccountable, after all! for it is quite possible that personal politeness and a certain coldness of disposition—amounting almost to callousness—may very well go hand in hand, both being more or less typical of the Ruling Class, and indeed, one of their *virtues*—if you

like. The Duke de Saint Simon was continually expressing his surprise at the fact that Louis XIV, who managed to die so beautifully—so serenely—so peacefully—that this old man who had been the cause of so much misery during his life, despite of having been the most polite man of his Age, should also have been the "*King of the Dragonnades*." . . . And among the disclosures we here bring to light there is much evidence to show that Franz Joseph's personal interest in the Police continued as heretofore, even after this specially privileged State Force had been disbanded, for the posts of President of Police in Vienna and that of Chief Superintendent of Police at Budapest, as also similar appointments—such as those of Chiefs in particular provincial cities—were and remained positions of confidence and the Emperor kept a vigilant eye on those who held them. Moreover, no small portion of Franz Joseph's secret archives testifies to the fact that when either Royal visits, demonstrations, or revolts were on the *tapis*, it was *he*—the Emperor—who again and again personally instructed the Police as to the measures which were to be taken.

VIENNA, 10th March, 1858.

DEAR MAX!

It was with the greatest pleasure that I heard from Zichy that it is your intention to come here in April. Quite apart from the pleasure it will be to see you again, there is much for us to talk over, so that it is very reassuring that I should know you will soon be with us. This being the case I shall only touch on a few matters in writing—and first of all I must thank you most sincerely for the ceaselessly successful and tactful manner in which you have carried out everything. In fact, this success becomes ever more and more evident—and would have been still more assuring were it not that our friend Napoleon plays us such evil pranks. His inconsistency is indeed deplorable! In the first moments following on the attempted assassination it seemed as though he had entirely broken with the Revolution; the affair of the Orsini Letter, however, shows the exact reverse. There is a persistent oscillation between excellent conservative

inspirations and a morbid desire for gaining popularity by means of making up to the foreign Nationalities at the expense of friendly Powers. It seems as though he were unable to disentangle himself from his earlier bonds and promises—and the Mazzini death-verdict hangs like the sword of Damocles over his head. For the present there is nothing we can do beyond quietly watching to see how this still very necessary man will manage to extricate himself from his very difficult position ; yet we must at the same time keep a very watchful eye upon all revolutionary mischief, so as to stifle any outbreak in its birth. This is a time of great unrest everywhere and Italy is in a state of nervous excitement ; I would therefore advise you to have recourse to severity in the event of even the smallest revolt. The Venetians are once more becoming somewhat impudent—for all that they cannot be particularly dangerous. These demonstrations in the theatres should therefore not be tolerated any longer, since they serve as good practice for movements on a larger scale, and—in a city which is so greatly frequented—this sort of thing shows up the rowdiness and the all too indulgent attitude of the Authorities. That demonstration of the Students at Padua ought to have been prevented, for it should never be possible for some 300 students to arrange a thing of that kind without the Authorities getting to know about it. Let me know the result of the inquiry, and make sure that the ringleaders do not escape their just punishment.

The Commandant posted at the Fortress of Piacenza reports the probability of an attack on the part of Mazzini's adherents from Piedmont, about the middle of April. Is there anything in this ? In any case be watchful and consult Gyulay about the matter, for Parma must be protected and defended as if it were our own country. It would seem as though the Piedmontese were having some difficulty in subduing the Mazzinists, while Cavour—being out of favour with his chief patron in Paris—will have to look about for other support. This is the old-time tradition common to the policy of Savoy ! Tentative attempts towards a reconciliation with us have repeatedly been put forward with the aid of Prussia as mediator : but I am content to let these would-be friends cool their

heels—requiring first and foremost definite guarantees owing to the lack of which our diplomatic intercourse has had to be broken off.

The other day there was a powerful article in the “Sforza,” by Perego, upon Rudio: such things should not be permitted, and they imply either carelessness or reprehensible leniency on the part of the political organs.

I herewith enclose—in the first place—the key to a new code which I have myself put together for the purpose of our own correspondence, as the army code hitherto used is too well known and easy. Please use it for the future, and send your telegrams also entirely in code, for nothing assists so much at decoding a message than random words which are not in code.

Secondly, the documents relating to the first *Fenice* commotion. Thirdly, three slips, referring to the Organization of the Police in the Kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice; of these the first is the memorandum you delivered into my hands at Laxenburg. Before taking any steps in accordance with what is stated therein I thought that I would first see how the old police-system is getting on under your leadership. In January F. M. L. Kempen handed me the second slip, so as to indicate that you would require a Chief Centre of Police and one capable of, in a higher sense, uniting the two branches; Kempen also wishes to be able to have a Police organ in the press (either connected with, or under your direction) such as might enable him to keep in touch with all matters having relation to the Italian police.

This would seem a wholly desirable scheme, for the two separate branches of the Police-service can never be expected to act upon exactly the same level, necessary though this is bound to be where the chief matters connected with the Service are at stake; and they are apt, therefore, and this in spite of their common interests, to come to cross purposes, rather than help each other. On the other hand, all the threads of these police-activities—for the Monarchy as well as for abroad—must be centred in Vienna and also be in the hands of the Supreme Police Command in that city, and in such a case, Italy becomes the most important interest

of all. This being so, I decided to show F. M. L. Kempen your memorandum, in spite of its containing some adverse criticism of those under his command, for, after all, it is just as well that he should know their shortcomings. He then further showed me slip 3, in which he seeks to refute your criticisms, and suggests also that Strohbach might be the best man, though not for Milan, but rather if placed at your side. Now that you have had the opportunity of studying the state of the Police for the last year past, please be good enough to send me a complete and comprehensive report embodying your suggestions for the definite organization of this important branch, while at the same time keeping in view the necessity of Centralization.

I have told Breisach—with whom I am very well pleased—to write and ask you not to commission the “Donau” for the long trip, as, owing to the state of affairs in Turkey and Montenegro, we may soon be requiring our ships. In saying this I am also thinking of Italy, for, in the event of a thrust in the Roman States, to wit, Ancona—the Navy might also render us good service.

Your pacific squadron at Venice pleased me greatly. The “Donau” created quite a sensation in Greece, though unfortunately that naive Adalbert appears to have treated her as he might a cab! I wonder when he means to turn up again, for since his departure from Constantinople I have not heard anything more of him. Mama was rather poorly a few days ago, but—thank God—she has quite recovered.

Give my love to Charlotte and thank her from me for her share in your success.

In the hope of being soon able to embrace you,

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

P.S.—Sisi sends her love to both of you and looks forward to seeing Charlotte here again.

Apart from these police measures and the Emperor's amusing indignation at the “Roheit” (i.e. brutality) shown at the Italian demonstrations at the theatres—the matters that

particularly strike one here are the political references, the *naïveté* of which seems almost uncanny, and throws some light on how—within a year's time—it became possible for the disastrous Italian war to break out.

The relations in which Franz Joseph and his Court at Vienna stood to Napoleon III, who had just been fortunate enough to escape Orsini's bomb, are graphically stated in the few lines contained in the letter. Vienna, while thoroughly despising the parvenu who had attained to the French throne, was nevertheless inclined to regard him as the instrument of Providence and one which might well serve to instil into an insubordinate populace certain wholesome ideas touching the virtues of a healthy and sound Conservatism. His imperial *coup d'état* was being brought before the inhabitants by means of placards . . . and during the whole of his reign the Court of Vienna's feelings towards him were a curious mixture partaking of fear, hatred, and respectful civility. They were never able to quite make up their minds whether to treat this "dangerous, and yet so necessary man" as a friend or foe. And these relations continued between them up to Napoleon's fall—until the Franco-German war, when Franz Joseph—under the influence of Andrassy and other cool-headed advisers—refrained from taking any side, for all that he joined with archduke Albrecht and all the other great military magnates of Vienna in beseeching Heaven to bless the French Army—as long as there was any hope of saving France from collapse.

The Emperor's excursions into the field of Italian politics indicate an unusual lack of judgment in this domain. His huge organization of Police-spies appears to have been able to do no more than flog women and harass the inhabitants, while political undercurrents and political powers were yet in existence to a quite unknown extent. Franz Joseph alludes to a Piedmontese and to a Mazzinist agitation as though these were one and the same thing. Yet, as a matter of fact, at that time already, Piedmont and Mazzini—the Italian Patriot and Social Revolutionist—stood out in sharp contrast and were bitterly opposed to each other. This complete ignorance on the part of Vienna's policy weighed all the

heavier in the balance since—at the time in question—Bach's régime stood in jeopardy.

Austria's Reactionary Party of the moment rather fancied itself in the rôle of Protector of the Oppressed Agrarian Population, as distinct from the Governing Classes, and this social contrast found expression more particularly in rich and highly-cultivated Lombardy, where the aristocratic landowner and the peasant-proprietor, the labourers and the lower middle-class, were waging a bitter fight one against the other—and this beneath the surface of Austria's oppression. In Northern Italy Austria's rule gave rise to a revulsion in favour of the yeoman-landed proprietor, and was accompanied by an evolution in economics and industry. Piedmont gave her support to this struggle with the ruling classes, the wealthy and well-endowed Lombardian Aristocracy, who with all the inborn perfidy so characteristic of the great aristocrat ogled both parties alike, and was by no means inclined to offend Austria, for all that they felt themselves drawn towards Piedmont. On the other hand, Austrian Supremacy indulged in the illusion that the oppressed and discontented lower classes were inclined to side with the Emperor against the Italian Aristocracy. The great mass of the working classes, it is true, took whatever the hand of the oppressor was pleased to offer them, but their true hero and representative was Mazzini—the ardent Mazzini, who within his own person united the Ideal of Italy's fight for freedom and also the revolutionary movement of the lower middle-class—and who hated Piedmont no less than he hated Austria.

Yet of all this, both Emperor and Austrian Oligarchy knew nothing. And Austrian policy was even more at sea when it allowed itself to be hoodwinked by Cavour—hypnotized—by the diplomatic arts of the Savoyard Minister-President.

Yet all this time Franz Joseph was still inclined to let these future friends go their way, even when Piedmont was putting forth all her strength in order to arm for a war. Here, indeed, may it be said that Solferino cast its shadow in advance!

ALL THE "BAD" HELD TOGETHER

Archduke Max had set forth his plans for reform in a Memorandum, which culminated in the suggestion that it might be as well to grant Independence to the Italian Administration. Considering his inordinate ambition, he was probably bound to arrive at such a conclusion ; it is however natural that his wish could not be entertained, and the Emperor himself drafted the reply vetoing anything in the form of a change. The control of Italian affairs, he contended, must remain centred in Vienna, for only by so doing "at the present time, when all that is bad holds together," could any successful issue be arrived at.

The Emperor's draft runs as follows :—

"Changes will be effected in respect of the country's Representatives ; these will take place at stated times and will be so devised as to assure the better interests—as indicated in the Memorandum—of the Aristocracy and great Landed Proprietors. In view of this the aristocracy is to be slowly prepared by more precise definitions of its rights and privileges, and by breaking away from the established law of entail.

"The time is not yet ripe for any decision on the question as to whether one Assembly representing the entire Kingdom, or two—respectively at Milan and at Venice—would be best ; for which reason negotiations cannot now be conducted with a view to any Centralization in Milan. This matter is further also connected with the organization of the local Authorities, and more particularly with the retention of the Governors' official residences which will both have to be subjected to closer investigation. In this instance there can be no gradual preparation, for official bodies must be firm if they are not to lose all authority, and on this account an entirely new form of administration must be called into being before the old one can be done away with. In any case there can be no thought of an independent administration of the Italian Provinces or one freed from the central control at Vienna, such as would be connected with that Centre by no more than a Minister for Italian Affairs. A hundred years ago such a thing was

still possible, but in the present day a complete severance of the Italian Provinces from the Monarchy, and that, moreover, at a time when all that is bad clings so closely together, would mean a weakening of the Government's powers of resistance against the Revolution and those who are in its favour.

" Besides which, in dealing with these Provinces, and with our interests in Italy, it is not merely a matter of keeping the view-point as to Italy before our eyes—we have also to take into consideration the condition of the entire Monarchy, never forgetting that the power and influence of our position in Italy depends less on the importance and development of these Provinces than upon the stability of the Monarchy as a whole.

" FRANZ JOSEPH.

" Vienna, 17 *July*, 1858."

" THE JUDGMENTS TARRY "

The following letter is over-shadowed by the sombre cloud of the approaching Italian war. We are on the eve of Solferino—at the close of 1858, and at the beginning of 1859.

A rising seems imminent and the Universities and the Academy of Fine Arts are being submitted to strictures, although the executors of the Law—who to Franz Joseph are no more than so many tools, requisite for carrying out his stern measures, and nothing more—do not " function " as he could desire, for the " bad " have waxed bold, and the " good " feel that they have been deserted. To this must be added, moreover, the unappeasable ambition ever dominating Max, his painful super-sensitiveness, bent on seeing everywhere some slight to his own dignity, and thus aggravating the Emperor's growing difficulties.

MY DEAR MAX !

First of all let me wish you and Charlotte every imaginable joy for the New Year. May God give you strength and endurance and enlighten you as to the difficulties now besetting your arduous career. May He, indeed, give an easier time unto all, though it hardly looks so now ; yet with a firm faith in God we shall overcome our present worries also, for

the Lord has never deserted our Austria—even in her bitterest days of calamity.

But now to business: In your letter of the 5th inst. you ask to be given Supreme Command of the troops in the event of a rising. Your opinion seems to be that matters will be endangered should the Military authorities be called upon to act, since it would imply a *division* of authority and one which would be bound to compromise you personally. Yet I cannot see the matter in this light. Two things might happen: either a partial rising in separate towns, or a Revolution on a large scale may spread over the entire country or only a portion of it. In the event of the former case whoever may be the Commandant of the Garrison will take immediate action and will, it is to be hoped, put matters straight—after which all will proceed as before. In the other alternative, should extensive military investment become necessary, it would mean the extension of active measures from the mere keeping of order in the streets to more definite military operations, and in such a case might mean the beginning of actual war.

In case of the former trouble, which is one which I trust might be speedily quelled—even should it take place in Milan—there need be no change regarding the usual spheres of activity. In the second case, any such dualism in the matter of the Military Command, and where details are at stake, would be extremely dangerous. In the event of your holding the Supreme Command a moment would be bound to come when—at the beginning of a probable war—you would have to resign, which would be far more compromising than if you had never held the supreme command at all. Think this over, and I feel sure that you yourself will recognize that I cannot meet your wish in this matter.

Both Gyulay and the authorities at Milan assure me that your position as Governor-General and Archduke will in no way suffer, while from my own knowledge of your character I feel sure that only in the event of actual hostilities will you see yourself constrained to assume the supreme command of my Fleet.

Where need an Archduke be less in fear of losing his dignity than when surrounded by troops the supreme command of

which is by no means anxious to precipitate events by any rash act hostile to the population? For this reason I can only entreat you to talk this matter over most seriously with Gyulay, who is returning to his post to-day. I have authoritatively impressed on him that he must be quite frank in speaking to you upon this matter, and have found in his sincere reverence for his Imperial House a ready response as well as a deep sense of conviction that it is his duty above all things to prove this same reverence towards yourself. I have told him that, in the event of disturbances, military intervention is not to be resorted to at too early a stage; not, indeed, until the most necessary moment has been reached, but that then energetic and if possible swift measures must be taken, so that the troops may have no fear of forgetting that they are in their own country. Also, that should the movement be no more than partial, I am desirous that martial law shall be avoided, as it would be far better to prove that Lombardy-and-Venice is quite capable of punishing evil and protecting those who are peaceably disposed by the means of ordinary authority.

As I have said, and in view of the difficulties of the present moment, I cannot impress on you too earnestly the importance of coming to a frank and complete understanding with Gyulay, telling him everything that may seem necessary in as far as his sphere of action is concerned. I must also remind you once more that when in Laxenburg I earnestly advised both you and Bruck as to what should be your position in general and also as to your attitude in the matter of the precautionary measures issued from here. I cannot expect that you will see eye to eye with me in all my decisions, yet I must be able to rest assured that what I have finally decided on will be zealously carried out and that any possible opposition which may arise shall not be encouraged to take heart by thinking that you too are not in agreement with the measures laid down by me. This, of course, need not preclude you from raising objections to me on what may seem inexpedient, but it would be as well that the foreign press should not be so ready to give publicity, even where general matters are concerned, to every step taken by you, even before it is known here. A case in point is the suggestion you made last summer—and again

those of more recent date—touching the recruiting-law, with regard to which the entire odium of turning it down now falls on me. Do try to see that the present state of feeling is not alone due to the precautions emanating from here, but owes its origin to the bad spirit that has been inoculated into a great portion of the people and which Turin and Paris are only too anxious to encourage so that the country may remain unsettled. Such instances of excitement, however, cannot last. Either it will come to a crisis, in which—with God's help—we shall prevail (yet against which it is our duty to take precautionary measures—for I do not believe in any revolt on a large scale) or everything will go off smoothly, in which case a more tranquil era must supervene, during which much successful work may be accomplished by continuing to improve the existing condition of things.

As to the measures for preventing an outbreak, all I can say is that you cannot be vigilant enough, and I should recommend that the police be put on their mettle. I see, indeed, with much relief that you are not lacking in energy, although I think that in Milan it ought to be possible to get on the track of the actual participants. To catch them red-handed, as it were, would create a great impression.

Send me your report as to these present suggestions and views and give me your opinion thereon.

The drastic measures resorted to against the railway officials were excellent and should have a good effect. What you did in regard to Porcia was also good: he is a despicable fellow. Do not lose sight of some opportunity for closing the University at Pavia. There should be room for it in Padua—in, for instance, the Invaliden-Haus, and daily experience is showing that Pavia is not the place. Do try to persuade Beretta, who is usually such a good fellow, to use his influence with the Tribunal. Send me some report as to why the Law Courts are so dilatory . . . it is really scandalous; as soon as ever things look at all critical, people hang back. I should have thought that the time was ripe for measures to be taken by the heads of the Police. Let me have your opinion on this point by telegram. I would further advise you not to be too lavish in the matter of granting permits for foreign travel;

people of this sort travel here, there, and everywhere, serving as emissaries. What about the commission which was to inquire into the question of taxation? And what about that matter in respect of abolishing the Academy of Fine Arts? Get to work about these matters as well as the various schemes for irrigation and drainage, so that the people may not run away with the idea that—owing to the increasing state of suspense—improvements are being brought to a standstill.

Forgive this hurried scrawl, but I have been interrupted several times while writing and have set down my thoughts as they occurred to me. I am being called upon from every side now: it is the most strenuous time I have as yet experienced and a time when I most particularly count on being able to count on your steadfast support.

Sisi sends hearty greeting to you both—and please say everything that is kind to Charlotte on my behalf.

I remain your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

Vienna, 26th Dec. 1858.

DEAR MAX!

I heard with the greatest concern that you had not been well for several days, and am delighted that you should be quite convalescent again. I am truly delighted as well as greatly relieved to find that you are of one mind with Gyulay about affairs. I have once more preached calm and moderation to him. The additional increase of troops should have a good and salutary effect; indeed, any outbreak in Lombardy and Venice need now hardly be expected, yet it is our duty to be prepared for all emergencies in order that any revolutionary movement may be nipped in the bud. Gyulay has sent me your excellent letter on the reasons for increasing the strength of the troops, and it shows me that we are now both in agreement in locating the mainspring of this present agitation. Yet I seem to think that hitherto Turin has placed her hope on Paris: if the Emperor Napoleon understands his own interests he can hardly desire war, but I fear that he is too much given to playing with fire and that—*malgré lui*—he might go so far as not to be able to escape a war. I fear that

the Duchies and more especially Parma may be the chief scenes of Cavour's tricks, for these are the *terrain* upon which any complication may be rendered more plausible and more persuasive in view of the other Powers. For this reason I am this day sending Gyulay a copy of the Military Convention concluded with Parma and Modena, on 4th February, 1848; as well as directions indicating in what cases he may act—even without having previously warned the Duchy. I have requested him to lay this document before you. I have further spoken to the Duke of Modena about it (this document) to-day: he feels certain that he will be able to keep his country quiet with the troops at his command, assistance only becoming necessary in the event of a foreign invasion, and then he would operate entirely in unison with our army. He hopes to see the Duchess of Parma in Venice and has undertaken to speak to her in my name regarding the Military Convention, which has existed since 1848, and to beg her—in the case of her own troops being insufficient—to have recourse to our help.

The quick transport of troops has made a very good impression both here and in Germany: here, too, patriotism has been much in evidence. Please send me news as to any occurrences as speedily as possible, and let me know what precautions you are taking. I am very glad that you have sent Charlotte to Trieste, and Sisi is looking forward to seeing her there soon.

Embracing you heartily, I remain,

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

Vienna, 12 January, 1859.

THE END OF THINGS IN LOMBARDY

Now follows a letter to his friend, the Crown Prince of Saxony: a letter written in those stirring days just before the fateful collision in 1859; and what is particularly worth noticing in this letter is the abundance of erroneous conceptions entertained by the Emperor concerning foreign politics, as also with regard to foreign information; indeed, one might really call it *childish*!

Here he deals with an illusion which was soon to be dispelled. The letter is undated :—

MY DEAR ALBERT !

First of all I must express my sympathy with you in the blow you have so recently been called upon to bear in the unexpected death of poor Anna. I did not like to trouble you with a letter just at the moment of that dreadful occurrence, but I am convinced you will not have doubted how deeply I have felt for you. It is a mercy that your sorely-tried parents have been given the strength to support this fresh sorrow with resignation. I have just received your letter of the 7th, and beg you to thank your father most sincerely for his kind and confidential communication regarding that most interesting report from London. I can give you my most sacred assurance that it has not left my hands and has been seen by no one else. In this letter I shall give you my candid views on the present situation and shall rely equally upon your discretion. The report agrees entirely with the news I have had and with my own views of the case, and the very opportune presence of Lord Cowley (note : British Ambassador in Paris and an intimate friend of Napoleon III—*Editor*) has done still more to strengthen my convictions. I have been delighted with Vitzthum's excellent rejoinders (note : Vitzthum was a Saxon diplomatist—*Editor*), with all of which I agree ; he has evidently taken his cue from the splendid attitude *you* all have assumed in this crisis : indeed, I cannot thank you sufficiently for your patriotic, and at the same time moderate mode of action ; it has been a real boon to me in these heavy times.

According to this report I am pleased to see that London takes the correct attitude in regard to the main points and that they are trying to reason out the question in a broad sense in face of a man who can never give up his *idée du remaniement de la carte de l'Europe*, and who merely stops when he sees that, for the moment, he can get no farther. Such a moment seems to be at hand now—according to the last and improved tidings received from Paris. But the thing is—not to allow oneself to be lulled to sleep, but to prepare for future

eventualities, as well as to seek to establish and consolidate unity, for on the very next possible occasion Napoleon will again be up to some mischief.

Germany's patriotic attitude has made a very good impression, and might have even greater effect if Prussia would only take up a firmer and more friendly attitude towards the *Bund*. I rely greatly on Prussia's good services in the event of extreme danger, yet Berlin does not seem to grasp that such a moment might be avoided by showing a firm front and the expression of strong opinions from that quarter. This means that we are constrained to show not a little patience.

Our chief concern was to impress on Cowley the necessity of general and united action on a big scale, and he was inclined to agree warmly with this view, for in England people are already beginning to recognize its necessity. He also assured me that he sees the need of a Coalition against the Napoleonic Idea, only that—for the present—he is in favour of peace. I am at one with him on this point, and he tried to find a means to this end in the so-called "Italian question." The much-desired evacuation of the Papal States has been decided on, so that *one* grievance will have disappeared. Yet the Administration there will have to be subjected to reforms; and here we were able to agree as to many things, since we have said the same thing ourselves often enough, and we are as willing now as we were in 1831 to join, either with the Great Powers, or with France alone, in tendering advice to the Holy Father in the matter of such useful and conservative reforms, provided always however that it is left to the Pope himself to decide whether he shall adopt these suggestions. The next subject broached was that of our treaties with the Duchies. These are binding on me: they are the only protections there are for those countries and are purely of a defensive nature. I am bound to keep their conditions, even should so doing lead to war. On this point, therefore, I was unable to make any concessions. Lord Cowley explained to me that England recognizes our absolute right to turn the Piedmontese out should they invade the Duchies; only the third point, according to which we are obliged to assist the local Governments in the case of home disturbances, does not seem to go down

with public opinion in England, and he is anxious that we should give this up. This I have refused to do; yet I have assured him of our desire to avoid interfering, and that it would be only in the case of extreme necessity—that is, supposing the Governments' own forces did not suffice—that we should take action.

On the whole he will have been convinced that we are ready to act with moderation in as far as our own commitments and our honour will allow us to do, and—in agreement with the London reports—his tendency too was to see everything avoided which might disturb the feeling towards us in England. This strengthens my conviction that, even though in view of the present weak Ministry, we may not be able to get any promises, we may yet count upon England in the event of a big war. Lord Cowley leaves to-morrow, fully enlightened as to our views and future course of action, and in Paris he will proceed to further work. I trust that the results may soon become evident.

We are, by the way, preparing for an attack on the Italian coast, and trust that—with God's help—we shall hold out. Should Germany mobilize her Army we should appear on the Rhine with a military force which is far in excess of our actual obligations in regard to the Bund even should we be fighting the French in Italy. I am very glad that the German contingents are preparing on the quiet, for not many are as ready for active service and as well organized as you are.

Plon-Plon (cousin of Napoleon I—*Editor*) serves as a good advertisement. His friend, Cavour, will presumably have to follow him, but I hear that he is not likely to go without making some stir. Just as well, for in that case the results will be all the greater. Your martial heart will be delighted to hear that our Italians called back from furlough have returned with the utmost possible haste—singing and jubilant, and this in spite of the “emissaries” as well as all this Piedmontese mischief.

I am burdening my Master of the Household with a portrait of myself; it is for you, and with it are five lithograph copies—of these three are for your own use, and of the other two

one is for Senft, and the other for Lippe—our companions of the Chase at Ischl.

Yesterday I shot my first snipe.

Again, many thanks—

Your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Lay me at the feet of your wife.

Sisi sends greetings to both of you.

The Italian Campaign, to some extent already strategically and politically prepared, now broke out and soon ended in defeat. The era of Schwarzenberg and Bach was at an end, and the Emperor's correspondence, carried on in what forms the background to this series comes to its dramatic close in the following directions sent to Count Buol—extracted from a bundle of documents sent to the State Archives after that Minister's death :—

“Telegraph to Baron Hügel directing him to communicate in strictest confidence with the Duke (of Tuscany—*Editor*) informing him that we shall cross the Piedmontese frontier within the next few days, should our demands not be complied with. Six thousand Frenchmen are reported to be already on their way by water, and forty thousand standing ready at Grenoble ; this report coming from Switzerland.”

Both the above paragraphs are in Franz Joseph's own handwriting, but divided by a stroke.

THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE BROTHERS

The ceaseless tension which now existed between the two brothers and which was barely cloaked beneath the cordial and courteous tone marking their correspondence, now frequently led to serious differences. Maximilian might indeed have had quite sufficient cause for feeling hurt and “cold-shouldered” by the numerous slights which had been meted out to the Austrian Navy, yet he preferred—and this is peculiarly significant as typifying the man—to base his grievance on personal, rather than positive grounds. He had dismissed one of his officers in connexion with some *affaire* which had

come before a Court-Martial : but the officer in question betook himself to the Emperor, pleading his own cause, and the Emperor was pleased to allow the officer's petition to go before the War-Office for further inquiry.

This so incensed Max that he resigned his own post and to this rash step the following letter from the Emperor is the rejoinder. Max has scribbled the first rough draft of *his* reply—written evidently under stress of great excitement—on the margin of the Imperial letter. Max must have been particularly perturbed at that time ; confronted with the harassing dilemma as to whether he should go to Mexico or not. He felt that he would be committing a folly should he, in going, act contrary to the warning advice of his Imperial brother as also of the Austrian Ministers of State, and yet he was loth to forgo the temptation offered him by that distant throne, still more was he incapable of withstanding the burning ambition which possessed his wife. This long-drawn-out vacillation, this struggle he was waging with himself, had rubbed him up to such a degree that, when the Mexican emigrants arrived from Paris in order to make him a formal offer of the throne, he was seized with a nervous attack and collapsed in a faint, his journey having in consequence to be postponed.

He, of course, withdrew his resignation as Chief Commander of the Fleet, retaining that post until his departure for Mexico, and we are not in a position to say whether the agitated draft ever reached the Emperor.

VIENNA, 21 *January*, 1863.

DEAR MAX !

Your desire to be relieved of your post reached me yesterday and I hasten to reply that I neither can nor will take any steps in a matter which, after quiet deliberation, you yourself will doubtless reconsider. For your satisfaction and enlightenment I send the following carefully detailed particulars of the case :—

In the audience which I granted to Mühlwerth he begged that the case brought against him might be subjected to further investigation and that he might either be appointed to a civil post or some post of a higher nature. As I am

aware that there is a good deal of lamentation at present as to hard and unjust treatment, and as I myself wished to have an impartial military report on the case, so that this kind of thing may be put an end to, I granted Mühlwerth's petition for the matter to be referred to the Minister for War.

After some time the latter announced that in order to give an adequate report he would have to see the documents referring to Mühlwerth's case and I therefore empowered him to obtain these from the Admiralty.

If, as you seem to think, your decision in the matter was final, then the War Office (of which the Supreme Judicial Court is an integral part) would be rendering exceedingly useful services, and you would have no cause to complain as to their integrity. Mühlwerth has however not been pensioned as a result of any revision of the verdict passed on him owing to your accusation of neglect of duties while on Service, and his pension is solely due to a long series of judicial inquiries. It does not seem to me that the War Office has any option in this matter or that it is in the position to give a decision, and I therefore merely requested the Minister for War to prepare a report so as to enable me to see the opinion of an entirely unprejudiced party. I think you will hardly question my right to ask him for this, nor can you consider that this action has in any way diminished your authority.

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

The following are the "notes," which refer to this letter of the 21st January, 1863, from Vienna:—

"More than 'calm consideration' has caused the matter to rest for fourteen days, since 3rd January. His 'lamentation' might have been left unheeded. Your Majesty desired an unprejudiced opinion—and must therefore have believed mine to be prejudiced, and, as a consequence, the Government Offices have now all marked me down as so. The documents were demanded officially. In the case of higher legal investigation—such as is this further inquiry—the High Court of Justice, but in no case the War Office, is the final Appeal. As a matter

of fact every one can unofficially be asked to give his opinion, yet *officially* only those who are concerned in the case. And should the report made by Degenfeld go against me—what then? Then all discipline is undermined for as long as I am Chief-in-Command, for in future every man who is punished will say ‘the Minister for War is sure to re-instate me!’ while Vienna will take care that the whole business is bruited abroad.”

BLACKMAILING FRANZ JOSEPH

“WOMAN’S OFFENDED VANITY”

In this matter Franz Joseph gets in the first word, so that he had better be allowed to tell the story as it affected him:—

SCHÖNBRUNN, 6 *Sept.* 1862.

DEAR MAX!

The editor of Zang’s journal “Die Presse,” sought an audience with me yesterday so as to crave for indulgence. Directly he had left my presence he went to Count Rechberg (Minister of Home Affairs—*Editor*) with regard to the same matter, telling him straight out that he had on an earlier occasion appealed to Archduke Franz Carl, and had obtained the latter’s promise of intervention. That however a little later the Archduke’s adjutant had written him a letter stating that although his Royal Highness had taken the above-mentioned step, he had not been able to achieve anything, since “wounded feminine vanity stood in the way.” Zang knows perfectly well that what is here hinted at is that article concerning the Empress, for he is full of regrets at its appearance, and states that he was in England at the time. He has this letter in his possession and threatens—with every show of politeness—to make use of it and cause a scandal. As I will not tolerate the compromising of members of the Imperial Family, and more especially the Empress, in this frivolous manner by those who would seem to be entirely unmindful of their obligations, and by persons in our entourage in connexion with such *canaille* as Zang, and while, on the other hand, I can hardly believe that Papa can take any interest in Herr Zang, and,

indeed, feel that this whole tale tallies too much with your admission regarding Zang's pardon and the conversation we had about it at the time, I would be glad if before referring to Papa you would let me know at once whether you gave permission to Zang regarding the failure of the step you took on his behalf, for I am determined that the writer shall suffer the deserved penalty. I need hardly assure you that Sisi has not bothered her head about the said Article, so that there has been nothing in the nature of "feminine vanity"—but rather of the just indignation it was bound to raise in me as well as in every loyal subject.

Your faithful Brother,
FRANZ.

Addressed to—

His Imperial Royal Highness
Archduke Ferdinand Max,
at Miramare.

(Sealed with his own crest.)

The "Presse," as well as the personality of August Zang, are sufficiently well known in Austria. The "Presse" was Vienna's first newspaper conducted upon modern lines, and Zang—a *ci-devant* Army Officer—and an excellent man of business, knew very well how to make his paper popular—to say nothing of creating a circulation for it. He was a man of his age . . . responding to the cry of "*enrichissez-vous*" . . . and, above all, he was a Newspaper Manager and a business man, his Motto being—"My paper is a shop in which I proffer Publicity." He would have liked to have reproduced Queen Victoria's speeches from the Throne at so much a line in his journal. Indeed, when we consider the condition of politics and of the press in those days (even though since 1859 things had considerably improved) Zang must have been a great Newspaper-Strategist, for he managed somehow to steer his paper, which had been founded in 1845, past the endangering shoals of Absolutism, and bring it safely into the Haven of a new Era.

It was his method to be daring. Even at the moment of which we are speaking—in 1863—immediately before the

founding of the "Neue Freie Presse" and at a time when the old "Presse" had reached the zenith of its powers and the full extent of its circulation, he never hesitated for a moment to use the carelessly given confidences of Archduke Max for the benefit of his columns. *This was his method of practising extortion from the Emperor*—for extortion was a matter of principle with Zang. It is quite true of course that the Imperial Family and the Austrian Government had no right whatever to show such indignation at this incident, for the press was in those days no more than a poor hunted beast . . . and Zang was but seeking to save his skin as best he could.

The opinions held by the Imperial Family with regard to the press and the "Presse" in particular are interesting. The Emperor held the journal in supreme contempt without even giving much thought to this special incident. Archduke Franz Carl, the Emperor's father, despised the "Presse" too, as indeed did all the Archdukes, but he was also seriously angry with the paper. We are enabled to get a very good idea of the views held by the members of the Sovereign House regarding "public opinion" as also touching their "rights" in general from a characteristic remark attributed to one of the Archduchesses at the time of the outbreak of war in 1859. The newspaper had presumed to comment on the campaign, whereat this lady is reported to have said:—

"I really don't see what affair it is of the people's if the Emperor *does* go to war!"

In his letter to his brother Maximilian confirms this family trait by showing his scathing contempt for the press, and for public opinion: yet, on the whole, he was inclined to court the newspapers, and was ever ready to grant favours to influential editors. But in this he is careful to tell his brother the Emperor that his concern was for the Fleet—subjected as this was to "step-motherly" treatment—and hence his conciliatory attitude. But as a matter of fact, Max was very fond of increasing his popularity and of nursing his reputation as a Liberal, and was therefore glad enough to enlist the public organs in his service. It was this hankering after popularity that became one of the chief causes of the everlastingly strained relations between him and the Emperor. Taking this fact

into consideration we soon come to see a very curious and significant background to their correspondence: Maximilian's two replies sent to the Emperor's inquiries are his own personal compositions. His action had doubtlessly been foolish and negligent, at all events, Franz Joseph—who in matters of far less import was wont to act with care and caution—was bound to regard it in this light. Herzfeld who is mentioned in the letter had during the time elapsing between the first and the second replies returned from the Italian and French Courts whither he had been sent for purposes of *espionage*. Although this personage proved himself to have been neither careful nor expert in the Zang Affaire, he remained until his death a confidant of Maximilian's, his services being continually requisitioned, and he attained finally the position of Consul General for Mexico in Vienna.

MIRAMARE, 8 Sept. 1862.

YOUR MAJESTY!

DEAR BROTHER!

While tendering to Your Majesty my warmest thanks for your gracious letter of the 6th instant, I hasten to reply to the questions you have put to me in as far as this may be possible. There can hardly be any case of Papa being concerned in the Zang business since, as we are all aware, he is very irate with the whole of the present-day press, and is moreover in the fortunate and independent position of having nothing to do with it. My name has not been mentioned, and the term of "adjutant" is quite inappropriate, for since Hadik left I have had no one but Bombelles doing adjutant-duty, and he went to sea some months ago. I should certainly be glad if Zang's pardon could be considered, if only for the reason that Zang's newspaper has been the only one to uphold our poor forsaken Navy in her hours of greatest peril. Zang never approached me for my support in the matter, and what I did was simply done from motives of goodwill and in the interests of the Navy to which so many are inimical. By indirect means I let Zang know that if he chose to use friendly words at the right moment he might yet put things straight and correct many of the serious offences he has committed against

high personages—even against Members of our Royal Family itself—Carl Rainer and I being among those upon whom he has frequently vented his spite. How and in what way this was made known to him I am not aware, for—being loth to concern myself with such unsavoury matters—I avoided all details. Nor do I know whether Zang acted accordingly, for I scarcely ever read his paper. I am unable to say whether this hint passed on from me stands in any connexion with the matter in hand, nor can I ascertain if it was given by word of mouth or in writing, for Herzfeld, who was entrusted with all press-matters, has been absent for the past fortnight on a dangerous mission to the Italian Military ports, where he probably still is at this moment, nor am I in a position to tell when he may be back ; indeed we almost fear that on a perilous expedition such as the present, recent events may have taken him unawares and he may possibly have been arrested by the Piedmontese Government.

As soon, however, as he does reappear, I will carefully cross-examine him on the matter so as to discover by what method—if at all—he has communicated with Zang, or whether the entire matter may not be merely some clever journalistic manœuvre devised to implicate the name of poor Papa.

While laying my warmest thanks at the feet of Your Majesty for the extremely gracious solution Your Majesty has brought to bear on the Naval Question,

I remain,

Your Majesty !

[No signature in the German text.]

MIRAMARE, 10 *Sept.* 1862.

YOUR MAJESTY !

DEAR BROTHER !

Twenty-four hours after the dispatch of my letter of the 8th instant, Herzfeld re-appeared at Marseilles from his visit to Genoa. I therefore sent for him at once so as to institute an inquiry in accordance with the statement I had made in my letter. Herzfeld is of opinion that he did approach me on behalf of Zang's pardon before departing on his naval mission and I also have some dim recollection of something of the

kind, in spite of the countless affairs which have recently taken place. Either then, or on some similar occasion, we certainly did discuss the necessity of securing Zang's good services for the benefit of the much-abused Navy and further the desirability of doing so before the reassembly of the House of Deputies. I also used some such occasion for stating to Herzfeld my doubts as to having recourse to such a step, regretting—as far as I can now remember—the presumptuous way in which Zang conducts himself towards the Upper Classes—even the Members of our Family not going unscathed. I further pointed out how desirable and even necessary it is that Zang should bring about some change in public opinion (such as was the case some months ago under Herzfeld's influence, for the better appreciation of the Navy) and thus rescue the Imperial Family from the ignominy being heaped on it. After this conversation which was perfectly frank and honest and which for the most part referred to the recently depressed state of the Navy, I left to attend Nugent's funeral. Herzfeld entirely acquiesced in what I had said and, attending to the particulars as he has done before in similar cases, went quickly through several copies of the "Presse" and there came upon any number of almost unbelievable Articles—one upon the Empress at Kissingen—another referring in highly improper manner to Your Majesty's beard . . . and also a few "bites" at my own insignificant person. According to his account he then made use of the last moments he had at his disposal before leaving on his tricky and dangerous mission and—possibly too hastily—sent a line to Zang, unsigned and by a third party.

In this note Herzfeld—in view of Zang's probable irritation—showed a certain measure of consideration, merely drawing his attention to his failings, and if he made use of the expression "exalted vanity," as Herzfeld seems to think he may have done in this note of which he unfortunately did not keep a copy, it was with the object—possibly a foolish one—of directing the attention of the irritable and spiteful journalist indirectly to his own foibles and odious behaviour, thus urging him to adopt another line. Herzfeld may have been in too great a hurry, but he acted honestly; at the back of his mind he had Zang's rage—but also the way in which Wickenburg

has worked for the undoing of our Navy: he wanted to do the right thing—even as he *has* done all this winter during the severest crises and with signal success. This unlucky note cannot create any scandal for it bears no name and is not couched in abusive terms. Zang's polite threats are the usual journalistic manoeuvre; he has done the same thing before—in the case of Benedek and of Rechberg. Your Majesty will excuse my unvarnished statement of the case—in as far as we are acquainted with it—whatever else Zang may have done is totally unknown to us.

QUERETARO

Towards the close of May, 1864, the Yacht "Novara," with Maximilian and Charlotte on board, entered the Mexican harbour . . . and, on the 18th June, 1867, the Emperor was shot at Queretaro.

Between these events three years were to intervene; years of hopeless and uninterrupted fighting—defeat being on each occasion a foregone conclusion. Maximilian's Mexican mission was based on a false assumption, yet one which the whole of Europe shared with him, namely, that in the war then going on between the Northern and Southern States of America, the South would carry off the victory. When however the North triumphed out and out and declared that they would no longer tolerate any Monarchy in the vicinity of the Great Republic, the Mexican Empire was by general consent allowed to drop into abeyance, and even Napoleon III, who had regarded this American Empire in the light of a French colony, and as a means of furthering his own glory, now forsook Maximilian, whom he had lured into this adventure, as soon as he became aware that his plans had been nullified by the conditions imposed by America.

CONTENTION OVER THE HABSBURG RIGHTS

Austria and Franz Joseph were of the same mind regarding the Mexican Empire as were the rest of the Powers.

When this offer of a throne came to Max by way of Paris,

the Austrian statesmen had been equally convinced that the South was going to win the American Civil War and that the Union would be split up: with this before their minds the Archduke's plans seemed to afford some prospect of success. Yet for all this they advised that the greatest caution should be exercised before engaging in so adventurous an undertaking, and urged that Napoleon's support should be further safeguarded by English guarantees, and that—should these not be forthcoming—he would do well to let the matter be. England flatly declined; yet Max proceeded on his adventure, and it is nothing short of astounding that Franz Joseph should not, in existing circumstances, have simply vetoed his brother's acceptance of the Mexican throne.

But far from so doing Franz Joseph watched his brother engaging in this rash enterprise with the utmost coolness and equanimity, and it is difficult here entirely to free one's mind from the unwelcome suspicion that Franz Joseph may have been secretly glad to get rid of his brother, and that he therefore was disinclined to consider too deeply the risks involved now that—owing to the changed conditions occasioned by the Northern victory—Napoleon had decided to withdraw from the Mexican business, thus making Maximilian's position there untenable—since Austria was also about to let the Mexican Empire “slide,” as indeed the rest of Europe had already done.

The relations between the two brothers had indeed become strained: the question of the Habsburg Rights now lay between them, and when Max was on the eve of his momentous journey the Emperor Franz Joseph came to the point and gave him to understand that he need not count on Austria for any political support whatever, while also, that before sailing, he would be expected to submit a document in which he undertook to resign all his Habsburg birthrights whatsoever.

The struggle between the two brothers was now terrible, and it was one in which the inconsiderate and purposeful energy of Franz Joseph was bound to win. From this moment onward Maximilian's renunciation of Mexico became Franz Joseph's main interest: when in November, 1864, Count

Guido Thun arrived in Mexico together with the other accredited diplomatists, he had with him special secret instructions from the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Rechberg—instructions in virtue of which he was to make the manipulation of this fraternal feud his principal concern. Max let the Austrian Ambassador know something of his bitterness . . . “Good fat Thun,” is the way he expressed himself in a letter, “the butt for all the rest of the *Corps diplomatique* in Mexico to aim at!”¹ He would have liked to have seen his old confidant, Baron de Pont, as the accredited Ambassador to Mexico, but this gentleman was not considered to be sufficiently versed in Mexican affairs. . . .

Count Thun was the bearer of the following letter from Franz Joseph to his brother in Mexico, and—as far as we are aware—it is the only one he wrote to Maximilian during the latter’s occupation of the Mexican throne. For after the date of this letter the tension increased to so great an extent that all further correspondence ceased.

In this letter reference is made to the expeditionary corps which was being sent out to Mexico. The envelope has been sealed with the coat-of-arms, and the obverse side bears Maximilian’s writing in pencil, for it was his habit to jot down on the envelope of the letter just received a sketch of the reply he intended sending:—

“Many thanks for kind letter—I am *deeply touched*. *Splendid troops*. Will be jubilantly welcomed by Mexicans.” And in addition to this he has set down the names of several persons, who were presumably connected with the matter in hand. Several of these have been crossed out and the only one still clearly legible is that of “Columbus,” i.e. the abbé Columbus, who, after being private chaplain to Archduke Franz Carl, became Lecturer in Theology to Franz Joseph and Maximilian.

DEAREST MAX!

I take the safe opportunity afforded me by the departure of my Ambassador, Count Guido Thun, for your Court, to express my sincerest thanks for your two dear letters of 22nd

¹ See Conte Caesar Egon Corti’s “Kaiser Maximilian von Mexico.”

and 25th June, and I commend the Bearer to your especial favour. He is a good and most reliable man ; imbued with the best of wills, and entirely worthy of your confidence. I regret very much that it should up to now have been impossible for me to fill the post of Ambassador ; but after De Pont—on whom I had fully reckoned—had failed me, I met nothing but insuperable drawbacks in the case of every one who seemed likely, until my choice finally fell on Count Thun, who at once declared himself ready to accept the post. I felt certain that the splendid fight in which our Navy was engaged would bring balm to your heart, and as soon as I received the joyful tidings, with all their details telling of the martial spirit and the brilliant *valour* of both officers and men, my thoughts went back to you and to all the work you accomplished when at the head of these fine troops. The fight off Heligoland has been of inestimable value as regards the further development of the Navy, and for this reason I cannot sufficiently estimate their great determination, manly coolness and strength. Here the hope of the Navy's future stands personified. I at once acceded to your desire in regard to Colonel Count Thun, and he is therefore now in command of an almost complete corps at Laibach. He is a splendid officer and full of enthusiasm for his work. Indeed, I may say that all the officers of the corps are excellent and I feel sure that they will do honour to the task on which they are engaged as well as render you good services, I therefore commend the entire corps to your fatherly care. They are bound to have the good qualities, though also the well-known failings common to the Austrian Army, which—without rating them too highly—may be taken for granted, and I can therefore only beg you to judge these leniently ; bring your Austrian eyes to bear on the same. I gave orders concerning the mountain batteries as well as everything else that had been asked for, so trust that all will be in readiness. I have been here since the 25th September, and intend to return to Schönbrunn, where my wife and children are staying, at the end of this week. Our parents are well, thank God ! Mama had another attack of erysipelas, but has entirely recovered again.

I was delighted to hear of the hearty welcome which awaited

you in your new Fatherland : God will lend you strength for your new task and will lend His support to your courage.

With kindest love to Charlotte, I remain

Your faithful Brother,

FRANZ.

It was after the arrival of this letter that the crisis over relinquishing all rights as a member of the Habsburg Family came to a head. The Emperor of Austria being fearful lest the question of Max's renunciation might once more be made the subject for discussion, had had the official document prepared and submitted to the Council of the Empire. To this act on his brother's part Max made reply by issuing a formal protest addressed to the various Courts. One such document he also sent to the Court of Vienna, but his Ambassador did not present it. Yet from this moment onward relations between the two Courts became so strained that when a Minister of the North American Union saw fit to allude to Maximilian as "the Austrian Adventurer," Austria's Representative was content to listen to this tirade without seeing any cause for issuing an official protest.

From no side did Max receive any support—even of a moral nature : none of the Powers were inclined to come into conflict with the United States. Then Napoleon began to withdraw his troops from Mexico, and on the 14th March, Bazaine left for France with the last batch of French soldiers. Max had, however, left Mexico City himself in February, 1867, withdrawing to Queretaro, along with his 9,000 men and four Generals.

Before this departure Bazaine had suggested to the Emperor that he should come on board his ship, for the Empress, already stricken with insanity, was at this time in Europe. Yet Bazaine's message was never to reach the Emperor. Nor would it have served any purpose, for the Emperor was determined not to yield, but—in face of all the world's desertion—to force Juarez to treat with him at the point of the sword. Thus did this Prince indeed become the victim of his own futile efforts and of his fatal lack of judgment, although in these last days of the struggle and at the time of his execution

he showed himself capable of the most splendid conduct. In Europe all the world had forgotten Maximilian, and when Napoleon acquainted the Chamber with the closing act to this Mexican adventure, not a word was said regarding Maximilian, for it seemed as though taken for granted that after having lost his throne, the Emperor would turn up in Europe sooner or later—unacclaimed and unsung. Austria's Consul-General for Mexico submitted a report of the proceedings which had taken place prior to the execution, but despite the fact that the cable between Europe and America was already in use, he did not make the tragedy known to his Superiors, so that the news of the execution of the Emperor of Austria's brother fell upon Europe like a bomb.

Emperor Franz had left his youngest and least-gifted brother, Archduke Ludwig, to manage affairs for his unhappy son, Ferdinand, and beyond those—the successors and Franz Carl—Metternich—of course, came into consideration. Franz Carl was a man of invertebrate and insignificant character, so that when the feather-pated and irresolute old man at the head of affairs showed every sign of steering the ship of State towards disaster, the young and energetic Archduchess Sophie seized the rudder herself, so that in those latter years prior to the March Revolution she had already become the most important person at the Burg. It cannot be said that she was "the only man about the throne," for the manner in which she "made politics" certainly betrayed her to which sex she belonged, yet she was a really clear-headed and strong-willed woman, the only thing being that—in all this hubbub of events—she was always and wholly "the woman."

There can be little doubt but that Franz Joseph owed his throne to her stubborn and consistent action. Sophie had to break down even the opposition of her own husband, Franz Carl—and in so doing made the considerable sacrifice of relinquishing all ambition of attaining to the dignity of Empress. But here the Mother in her had conquered the Woman! And the vanity and pride of the Mother carried off the victory.

To judge by her letters, Sophie must have been a woman capable of much feeling and enthusiasm. Some of these, especially those in which she commends her Franz to the care

of Radetzky, are nothing short of touching. The faults for which History may arraign her are entirely such as may be ascribed to her emotional nature. We are aware how strong emotions may become in a woman when irresponsible power throws the flood-gates wide. . . .

ISCHL, 14th September, 1854.

DEAR MAX !

I enclose you two letters from Carl to Mama which I have received from her in Dresden, and which you are to read. Further, Mama has commanded me to give you the following message which I am copying down so that it may be quite plain :—" Uncle Diki would like him (that is you) to go and stay at *Sans Souci* for a fortnight ; I am not sure that it will be possible, but please tell him all the same, as Uncle's wish will be sure to give him pleasure." You too will see that this wish can no longer be carried out. We are having lovely weather here ; on Sunday I am going to call at Berchtesgaden, and shall be back in Vienna on Wednesday, therefore—to our speedy meeting !

Your faithful Brother,
FRANZ.

THE MOTHER : ARCHDUCHESS SOPHIE

" MY HEART'S-BLOOD "

THE following letter was written by Archduchess Sophie to Radetzky at the time when she sent Franz Joseph to be with the Italian Army then in the field, in order that the sixteen-year-old schoolboy, who had but yesterday, as it were, been at his lessons, might get to know the smell of gunpowder. Franz Joseph made his appearance at the Italian seat of war as a full-blown colonel, and chief of the 3rd regiment of Dragoons. His baptism of fire at Santa Lucia is familiar to all.

VIENNA, *22nd April*, 1848.

REVERED FIELD-MARSHAL !

I am about to place my most precious Heart's-Blood in your hands ! Lead my child along your path, for then he will progress fearlessly and with honour ! Be a good father to him—for he is a good and honest boy, and ever since his childhood has loved a soldier's career. But I am most anxious that his presence shall be no disturbing factor ; it is his father's wish that you should act in regard to him as you may deem best and that Field-marshal Count Wratislaw may be attached to his person.

My son will tell you how deep an admiration I feel for you and for your fine troops. How proud I am at the thought that, in these times which are so poor in men of distinction—you should belong to us ! These words are indeed no hollow phrases ! Be assured that I utter them from the depths of a grateful heart—for what I do not feel I am incapable of saying. God be with you, Field-marshal, and may He bless the courage and endurance of your brave Army—this is my sincere wish

THE MOTHER

131

and my most fervent prayer! One thing I still desire—and have long yearned for . . . this is to make your valued acquaintance, so that I may tell you by word of mouth how greatly I revere you!

SOPHIE,
Archduchess of Austria.

Superscription—

To

His Excellency Field-marshal Count Radetzky.

(Sealed).

THE GRANDMOTHER: CAROLINE AUGUSTA

FROM "Grandmama" to "Grandmother"—Grandmama Caroline. We have repeatedly alluded to the tender relations obtaining between Emperor Franz's fourth wife—step-sister to Archduchess Sophie—the dear old Grandmama Caroline, and little Franz Joseph. We shall now therefore give a letter from the Dowager-Empress to her Franzi, who had but recently ascended the throne. The letter was written from Salzburg, and in it the Dowager-Empress inquires whether she may be allowed to come to the Burg in Vienna; the difficulty young Franz Joseph found in having to refuse her request is evident from the fact that we have before us two drafts of his reply, one of these bearing any number of corrections.

A FEMININE INTRIGUE OF 76 YEARS AGE

There can be little doubt that the real reasons for refusing her petition were based upon other grounds than those of the dangerous atmosphere of revolutionary Vienna—in September, 1849! and here we come upon the track of a most interesting Court Intrigue, yet one of which we catch but the merest breath while reading this correspondence, for at this length of time, it is impossible to unravel the delicate web involved.

It is very evident however that Franz Joseph did not want good Caroline to come to Vienna for a permanency—and that such was the case is seen by the next letter which that lady addresses to her grandson, and in which she complains that the apartments which her principal lady-in-waiting, Countess Augusta Coudenhove, used to inhabit at the Burg had been taken away from her—the Dowager-Empress—without the matter having first been referred to her. . . .

When Franz Joseph came to the throne he carefully "ban-



THE YOUNG EMPEROR

FEBRUARY, 1849, THREE MONTHS AFTER HIS ACCESSION

From the drawing by Prinzhofer in the portrait collection of the National Bibliothek, Vienna

ished " all those members of his family of whom he suspected that they might make his youth and inexperience a reason for seeking to gain an influence over him. Yet Grandmama Caroline was a harmless soul, without any thoughts about politics. She had never bothered her head about such matters, and her relations with little Franz Joseph had been of the very best that could be imagined. Here therefore but one explanation seems possible :—Archduchess Sophie, having made the sacrifice of relinquishing *her* right to be Empress in favour of her son was now determined that no other woman but herself should occupy the first position at the Hofburg ! it is true, Grandmother Caroline declares in her letter, that it is her intention to retire entirely from Court life ; yet this alone would have availed little, for *etiquette* would still have had the last word over and beyond any private declarations, so that had an Empress—and the widow of a Ruler who still stood so high in popular regard as did the Emperor Franz—returned to the Burg, Sophie would inevitably have been made to feel the position—even if not by those most immediately concerned, then from some spiteful and intriguing parties. . . . We may therefore feel assured that Sophie's hand had been at work when her step-sister, Grandmother Caroline, was bidden remain at Salzburg. It would seem too as if she were being told as tactfully as possible that even should she at a later date visit Vienna the stay could not be one of long duration. As a matter of fact poor Caroline was now fated to do much travelling about. She was frequently at the Court at Prague, visiting ex-Emperor Ferdinand and Empress Marie Pia, though she spent the greater part of the year at Pressburg. In her efforts to keep her half-sister Caroline at a distance Archduchess Sophie was most obviously supported by Count Grünne, who was the chief strategist where all Court intrigues were concerned. Then, when at length another Empress Elisabeth entered the Hofburg, Sophie and Grünne joined forces once more, and thus the relations between the Archduchess and her daughter-in-law were strained until the close of her life. Franz Joseph made two drafts of the letter which was to go to his Grandmother, and we may perhaps assume that he showed these to his mother. We are led to this assumption by the fact that the

second draft which bears no corrections is evidently the one from which a "fair copy" was made, and its tone is much more chilly, less direct, personal and affectionate than the first. It seems worth while to compare the wording of the two: what delicate gradations are here! in the first we find Grandmama!—now it is Grandmother. How, we wonder, had the eighteen-year-old Franz Joseph managed to acquire this tone of the "Court Intrigue"? The *milieu* and the heritage of centuries can, it is true, do wonders!

SALZBURG, 19th Sept. 1849.

MOST PRECIOUS GRANDSON!

Although I feel assured of your answer, yet, *pour l'acquit de mon conscience*, I am writing first to inquire whether you would rather have me spend the coming winter in Vienna or at Salzburg? I only ask for *one* line—I do not require any reasons: it will suffice for me to know your wish and desire. I will, however, take this occasion to repeat (as I did in my reply to Count Grünne a few months ago) that in no circumstances shall I appear at Court again, for I intend to live in complete retirement. I was delighted to hear that your indisposition had passed off—May God continue to bless you! This is the daily and constant prayer of your loving Grandmother,

CAROLINE AUGUSTA.

(Note:—In the following letter the words in brackets are those which have been crossed through in the "rough" copy.)

DEAR GRANDMAMA!

Your letter with the wish therein expressed has touched me deeply. At any other time (the answer to your question) no answer to your question would have been necessary, and I should not have had to deny myself the pleasure, dear Grandmama; of seeing you among us all here in Vienna. But, for this winter, things (here) have not sufficiently quieted down, nor has order been as much restored as I could wish for the sake of your own peace if in residence here. We are still on the *qui vive*, and therefore it seems to me better that there

should not be too many members of the Family gathered together in the unreliable Vienna.—(Next year) The future will (with God's assistance) let us hope (bring better times and complete quiet) and then (we shall all, I trust, be able to be together) The old Burg will probably see us all united within its walls.

With this hope I remain your faithful Grandson,

F. J.

DEAR GRANDMOTHER !

Your gracious letter has touched me deeply. You would have distressed me greatly and also misjudged me if—in other circumstances you had put a similar question to me. But unfortunately my position obliges me to practise self-renunciation and teaches me to make heavy sacrifices. As such, dear Grandmother, you must please be good enough to regard the view which the present times force me to take—namely, that your further stay in Salzburg will indeed cause me far less anxiety on your behalf, seeing that the wave of political disorder has not yet spent itself and the future is still uncertain.

I look forward longingly to the happy day when I shall once again be permitted to embrace you and to assure you verbally of my sincere regard and veneration.

Schönbrunn, the . . .

SALZBURG, 8/10. 1840.

Forgive me, dearest Grandson, if to-day I seek to enlighten you regarding a very trivial matter. I have indeed already submitted my petition to Prince Liechtenstein (who, however, can hardly have received the letter yet), but as I may say that the life's joy of one who is very dear to me is here at stake, I feel anxious to tell you myself how much value I attach to having this wish granted.

The apartments which my Coudenhove (Countess Coudenhove) used to occupy in the Burg have been taken away from her in order to convert them into offices. A few years ago she had them redecorated at considerable expense, and I myself gave her the furniture for them, having it made to special measurements, so that these articles would now hardly be suit-

able for any other rooms. I was witness of the great pleasure she took in this suite of rooms, to the care of which she devotes so much energy that she but seldom goes out, and what now adds to her grief is that the rooms which have been placed at her disposal are those furthest away from my own suite—a matter which has its inconveniences for me also. The excuse may be put forward that these rooms are more particularly suited for the offices in question, but who does not know by experience that what on the first blush seems indispensable can, if carefully reconsidered, be arranged after some other fashion, and so, I am still hoping.

I thank you most sincerely for your dear letter on the 24th Sept.

And remain ever,
Your faithful old Grandmama;
CAROLINE AUGUSTE.

THE FRIEND: ALBERT OF SAXONY

WE now come to speak of the man who stood so near, perhaps nearer than anyone else, to Franz Joseph's heart,—his one friend, Albert of Saxony. This hard-hearted Emperor, whose letters we here place before the public, and who—it may be, with deliberate intent—had sought to steel the erstwhile simplicity and humanity of his habitual nature—was in very truth a lonely man, even from the time when, as little more than a child, he had been called upon to ascend the throne: and, once enthroned, he fulfilled duties in great isolation. Neither his wife nor his son can be said to have really stood close to him, while his brothers were a cause of constant anxiety. He held his mother in great respect; preferred one of his daughters to the other; had no particularly good opinion of any of his relatives—and loved no one. For although we often come across expressions of tactful politeness, yet, when it comes to be a question of warm and heartfelt tenderness, this is reserved for two human beings alone . . . for Katharina von Schratt, and Albert of Saxony.

In none but these two had this lonely man, surrounded as he was by a kaleidoscopic crowd, been able to find the friends he so sorely needed. Albert had been the comrade of his childhood, and until the death of this prince—as King of Saxony—their friendship remained undimmed. It was about the time of Albert's death, in 1902, that Franz Joseph's period of senile decay may be said to have commenced; from that time onward the Rudder of State began gradually to slip from his hands, although they still continued mechanically to do their accustomed work, until he at length became lethargic—a prey to great apathy—physical decline depriving him of his last remnants of will and strength. Albert and Franz Joseph were both of about the same age; the former some two years

older than the Emperor. They were also cousins, their mothers having been sisters, and in their likes and dislikes ; in their nature and in their temperament, they curiously resembled each other.

In the mutual attraction of two friends it often happens (though less frequently than in the case of lovers) that one is wont to supply the qualities in which the other is lacking. These two cousins, however, resembled each other to a remarkable extent. Two passions in particular drew them together—the Chase and Manœuvres. There are very few letters from the Emperor to his friend in which he does not refer to shooting of some kind or other, or to the exercise of arms ; or in which he does not at least mention the honorary command of some regiment. After the shoots at Ischl—which stood for “leave of absence” to the Emperor—they yearned for the return of those happy days, even as young girls sigh when they think of last year’s Carnival, or as schoolboys eagerly look forward to the holidays. And so we find innumerable letters which speak of nothing else but adventures among the stags and chamoix ; for it was these two royal pastimes in particular which bound them to each other with bonds of the truest intimacy. Albert may indeed be said to have embodied Franz Joseph’s second self. Like the Emperor, he was heart and soul a soldier, and it is quite possible that he might have been capable of earning his living in that profession, had he not been born a Prince of the Blood Royal. He was an excellent organizer ; knew how to keep discipline in his regiment, and was even of some service in the field.

In 1849, when only a Captain of Artillery he had taken an active part in one of the Schleswig-Holstein battles ; while in 1866 he led a Saxon corps, with Austrian equipments, on behalf of General Clam Gallas, and held the independent command of the troops on the left wing at Königgrätz. And although unable on this occasion to secure the victory, owing to the overwhelming pressure of the forces Prussia had held in reserve, to say nothing of the unfortunate and headstrong tactics of the Austrians, he was yet able—after the battle had been lost—to accomplish the relatively orderly retreat of the Saxons as well as those Austrian troops which had served under his com-

mand. Later on, in the Franco-German war of 1870-71, he filled his part of Army Commander in so distinguished a manner as to receive the recognition of even Moltke. Nevertheless there was nothing remarkable about him, even as there was nothing notable about his cousin: he was simply a man of very good average abilities. In a Protestant country he was able to maintain the Catholic traditions of his family, although—unlike his brother George—he was not a “clerical”: he also shunned all excess, a quality in which he again resembled his cousin.

But the qualities both these men had in common and which determined their character would seem to have been better balanced in the case of Albert, and even as he considerably excelled Franz Joseph as a soldier (the latter, of course, never having had any opportunity of testing his powers in this calling), so too did Albert excel in the Art of Living. Yet he too does not appear to have done very much in the matter of actual study, for he discontinued his University career at the time of the Revolution in 1849, and did not resume his studies. Still, he lived to some extent according to the traditions of his Saxon Court, which had ever been devoted to the pursuits of Art and Science. His father, King John, who had come to the throne in 1854, had translated his favourite Dante,¹ being also the author of several original works; and Albert to the end of his days retained his love for music and his interest in all that concerned the theatre. Restraint was perhaps the sovereign virtue which distinguished both these friends. At the time when his uncle was still at the head of affairs and also at the beginning of his father's reign, Vienna and Dresden had not always been in accord. Yet no sooner had Albert come into his own than he voluntarily subordinated his own will to the desires and interests of his more powerful relative and friend. So that he must surely have felt ill at ease that January day in 1871, when he found himself standing in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles!

Albert was indeed the personification of all that was reliable. He never caused his friend even the slightest unpleasantness, nor did he ever occasion anxiety or complications: he did not

¹ Under the pseudonym of “Philaethes.”

even raise objections: he was never reproachful, nor did he put forward any wish that might be deemed unwelcome. Franz Joseph's letters make us feel how highly he appreciated this man, and with what anxiety—with what tenderness—he guarded this, the one solitary friendship of his life. Franz Joseph, who for all the dignified aloofness of his demeanour, was fundamentally a primitive and by no means very sensitive being, gave evidence nevertheless in these letters of a certain measure of spiritual refinement. Some passages would even suggest that he watched with an almost jealous care lest some break might occur to mar their ideal intimacy. There was also another advantage when corresponding with Albert. In these letters there was no need for reticence when mentioning a third person; and so we find candid criticisms on the insolent and by no means attractive personality of William II, on that mountebank, the (then) Shah of Persia, on the Prince of Wales (Edward VII) for whose company the Emperor does not seem to have had much liking. These letters were addressed to his most intimate friend—to the one person with whom he could take refuge on every painful and unpleasant occasion and when feeling the need of one to whom he could safely reveal his "human" side. . . . Nor was Albert's reserved, helpful and somewhat neutral character without salutary effect in his own Saxon home. There, among a population of which some 95 per cent. were Protestants, the reigning dynasty—as represented by the House of Wettin—had remained staunch Roman Catholics, irrespective of that agreement whereby it had been determined that every heir born to a Saxon Kurfürst was immediately to be christened according to the rites of the Lutheran Church. Since the days of Augustus-the-Strong, however, no such heir to the throne had been born in Saxony. Indeed—it would seem as if the "Stork" had been "all on the side of Wettin"—for the line of inheritance seemed almost always to pass into some collateral branch of the family. Albert in his turn was also to remain childless, the crown passing from him to his brother George and his family. In 1853 Archduchess Sophie, the Emperor's mother, had brought about the marriage between Albert and Carola, the daughter of ex-king Wasa, who was then living in exile at the Court of

Vienna. It is highly probable that Napoleon III first led the Archduchess's attention to this Swedish princess, for he had himself made certain advances in that quarter and it was only after he had been rejected by the first lady of his choice that he married Eugénie Montijo. For, rather than allow her *protégée* to fall to the *parvenu*, Sophie had taken steps to bring her and the Saxon nephew together. In the same way also in which he managed to remain a good Catholic even among Protestants, so too did King Albert manage to exercise to the full degree his sovereign authority in that part of Germany which can boast of the greatest percentage of Social-Democratic Voters—in Bebel's Saxony! And not only this, but—after having forfeited half his country to Prussia and after having been vanquished in the field by Moltke, he was able—on the founding of the German Empire—to labour with all honest intent on behalf of Germany's imperial aims. Bismarck had a sincere respect for King Albert, and in 1873, when he came to the throne, the German Chancellor addressed a letter to him in which he gave expression to this feeling of genuine admiration. And here it should be recorded that King Albert was entirely opposed to Bismarck's dismissal; up to the last he adhered to the Chancellor's Party, and we can hardly be wrong if—among other causes—we attribute the favour in which Bismarck stood with Emperor Franz Joseph, after his fall from power, to the influence of the King of Saxony.

Franz Joseph and Albert, as we shall see by their correspondence, frequently discussed political questions in their letters; doing so in detail and confidentially. Taken all in all, Albert was—as we have already said—a “second Franz Joseph,” only a somewhat more practical, a milder, more harmonious and—above all—happier man than the Emperor.

THE EMPEROR DECLINES TO BE ADDRESSED BY HIS TITLES

The very first correspondence which passed between them is significant: it is a letter of thanks on the part of the Emperor for the courteous and considerate treatment of his fourth Army Corps while in Saxony. Owing to the conflict concerning the

Electorate of Hesse—a matter which had very nearly caused war between Austria and Prussia—this Corps had been sent into Germany under the command of General Legeditsch. The epilogue to this affair which, by the way, constituted a diplomatic triumph of the highest order for Schwarzenberg, is referred to by the Emperor in the same letter, when alluding to that statesman's death, Schwarzenberg having been Franz Joseph's first and probably the most gifted of all of his Minister-Presidents.

Mention is also made here of a Violinist in whom Albert had sought to interest the Court of Vienna. Indeed, on many subsequent occasions we find Albert anxious to interest his friend in the exponents of different forms of art, and especially in those following the profession of music. And then follows the exclamation . . . "I am alarmed!"—for Albert had in this early letter apostrophized him as "Your Majesty!" and had followed up this mode of address by adding the whole string of his titles! In order rightly to appreciate what this deprecatory remark on the part of Franz Joseph meant, we must bear in mind that his brothers and his son never addressed him otherwise than by giving him his full dignity—viz:—"Your Majesty! dear Sir Brother!" and "Your Majesty! dear Sir Father!" while it was for him alone to reply with a familiar "Dear Max!" and "Dear Rudolph!" In his youth he had kept a more jealous watch over his authoritative rights than he did in later life . . . but where Albert was concerned it had been a case of "Dear Franz!" from the beginning and this continued also to the very end.

DEAR ALBERT!

Permit me to address these lines to you in the name of each member of my fourth Army Corps and to thank you for the boundless courtesy and the many marks of attention with which you and all their Saxon Comrades have overwhelmed our troops. This occasion has indeed once more proved how genuine is the chivalrous feeling, as also the spirit of camaraderie, which binds our armies to each other, and I can hardly be sufficiently grateful in my recognition of the efficient and practical way in which the transport and quartering of the

troops has been effected throughout the Kingdom. Forgive me for writing so long after the event of their march through, but the terrible blow that has befallen me in the sudden death of my greatly esteemed Prince Schwarzenberg has given me very much to think about, as well as to see to lately, thus adding to my usual work. To-day has therefore been the first possible occasion when I have been able to find time to write to you and express my most sincere thanks.

You have further been kind enough to recommend me a Violin-Virtuoso—this gentleman made his *début* at a concert given by Mama, at which all the Archdukes were present; and all were delighted at his splendid performance. I was alarmed at the letter you wrote me on that occasion, for it began with “Your Majesty!” and was full of titles—such as I had hoped were superfluous between us two. I beg you most earnestly, therefore, to leave all such matters out of the question—and for the future to return to the plain and simple “thou.”

I flatter myself that I shall be sure to see you somewhere or other during the course of the year—for the railway will have made us near neighbours. Perhaps it may be in the autumn—at our manœuvres in Hungary . . . (12th Cavalry Regiment) and, in this hope

I remain your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Vienna, 11 *April*, 1852.

IN ENEMY CAMPS

The date we now come to is 1864, the year of the Schleswig-Holstein Expedition—and Austria has sided with Prussia. The Emperor was overjoyed at the success of the Austrian troops, for it seemed to “wipe one off the score,” as far as the year 1859 was concerned.

Franz Joseph, now as always, intent on the political situation of the moment, was bent on defending Prussia and upholding Prussia's loyalty. Yet the time was not far off when he was to allude with bitterness and amazement to “those Prussian traitors,” whom he hoped God would punish.

This letter contains many interesting comments upon German conditions: he speaks of how necessary it is that a conservative way of thinking should find support in that country, and he also mentions Napoleon III, and Bismarck. Yet we discern here some slight feeling of restraint: the reason for this being that Austria and Saxony were at the time in different political camps: for Saxony, together with the other Central German States, was opposed to the policy of the two leading Powers of the Bund.

Not that this in any way diminished the affectionate feeling existing between these two friends, and as soon as sport is mentioned, everything else is set aside.

VIENNA, 16 *February*, 1864.

DEAR ALBERT!

My sincerest thanks for your letter of the 11th, which I have unfortunately had to leave unanswered until to-day, owing to the pressure of work caused by the decision of our *Reichsrat*. I must therefore count on your consideration to excuse the delay.

My warmest thanks for the interest you have shown in the success of our Austrian arms: knowing how your soldier-heart beats in sympathy with our Army, I felt sure that you would be elated at its brilliant exploits of valour. You may well imagine how proud I am of these splendid troops, who have borne almost unimaginable hardships with the greatest courage, though—unfortunately, their brilliant victory has been purchased at the price of great bloodshed.

I am very thankful for the numerous proofs of comradeship, as well as for the practical assistance (especially from the surgeons) rendered by your troops to mine, though you may imagine with what regret I see Germany divided into two camps . . . and know you to be in the opposite one. Yet how could the German Governments take upon themselves to urge Austria and Prussia onward in regard to a question as to which the legal issue has not yet been settled, a question which, indeed, the German Revolution did its best to make its own without any consideration as to the difficulties of our position with the Powers, and without ever seeing that this was prac-



FRANZ JOSEPH

IN THE YEAR 1862

From the portrait collection of the National-Bibliothek, Vienna

tically inviting a European war, in which Austria and Prussia must inevitably, and against their will, be called upon to take the lead for your protection? Nor this alone, but also against powers on whose friendship we are actually dependent—where that man in Paris is concerned—for, in the last resort, it is *he* who is the chief enemy of us all.

Should we have admitted that Germany—as in my opinion—had entered upon an unjust war? and so have found ourselves drawn into a war with England—while at the same time giving a pretext for the creation of an Anglo-French Alliance directed against ourselves? Such a thing would have been impossible, and we were therefore bound to join Prussia, taking this matter in hand, so as to save Germany from the dangerous course to which she would otherwise have stood committed. If the German Governments would but recognize this, they would then join us and the country would stand powerful and united, instead of continually bickering over puerile questions and causing us additional difficulties so that our work at Frankfurt resolves itself into a perpetual effort to frustrate or delay some dangerous decision, against which we are bound to make a determined stand. The natural consequences of such an unwholesome state of things are the incidents, such as you complain of in your letter: I will not defend everything the Prussians do, but that Prussia is looking for a pretext to attack you I most positively deny. I will make further inquiries as to what Bismarck may have said: he has his great faults, as we know from earlier experiences, and one of these is his rough and ready, and even exaggerated, way of speaking—and the manner in which, in his speeches, he tries to intimidate people. While in Holstein the Prussians were at times guilty of bad form, yet, where it was a matter of essentials, I am of opinion that they were quite in the right. When an army—fighting hard—has pushed its way into a strange country, it is bound in the first place to give heed to the state of things at its rear, safeguarding its position, and for this it must make sure of the most important points, so as to facilitate the advance of reinforcements and guard the means of communication, for these must be in its own hands. But it is clear that, owing to the doubtful attitude taken by most of the

Governments adhering to the Bund, this has so far not been feasible. It is impossible to leave an inefficiently governed country that is virtually in the hands of the Revolution to be occupied by rear-guard troops which are dependent for their orders on the Majority of the Bund. For the Bund—as we know—has different objects in view from what we have. . . . And so it cannot but continue to be my most earnest wish that the German Governments may re-unite, joining in with us on the first possible opportunity, for only by so doing will salvation be found. Moreover, you would then be protected against any far-reaching plans Prussia may be harbouring, for the position in which you would then stand to Austria and the regularity with which she has adhered to her policy would be your safeguard.

Should this division continue both sides will be forced to take up positions such as must ultimately land them in trouble. I can therefore only earnestly recommend that the great political issues, as well as those conservative objects which are finally at stake, may not be left out of account, while exciting, yet minor incidents are allowed to take up so much attention. A Bund of the German Central States against the so-called Senior Powers, is a monstrosity and must inevitably lead to a Rhenish Bund—a disgrace which I for one trust I may never live to see. I am writing to you with the same candour I was so thankful to find expressed in your letter. If I have been too frank you must set it down to my sincere desire for a thorough mutual understanding.

With kindest remembrances to your wife, your parents, and to George, I remain,

your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ.

P.S.—I must not forget to add that the stag you got three shots at while stalking at the Seeau was a six-branched beast and has been found by one of the huntsmen. I will send you the antlers.

KÖNIGGRÄTZ

We now come to the year of Königgrätz and will add one letter written before that conflict took place. In it Franz

Joseph begs the Crown Prince of Saxony, who has just been raised to the Supreme Command of the Saxon Army, to lay aside all other considerations and—in view of the plan of the campaign—withdraw his 24,000 men from Saxony; join the Northern Wing of the Austrian Army, and leave his own country to the Prussian invasion. Albert carried out this command with exactitude and care.

VIENNA, 7th June, 1866.

DEAR ALBERT!

I am sending you this letter by von Beck, my Adjutant-General, and have instructed him to give you some valuable additional particulars. Travelling by way of Olmütz, he has been thoroughly initiated into our military position by von Benedek, my Master of the Ordnance. The present serious situation with regard to the movements of the Prussians seems to suggest that they may be only threatening to attack Saxony, their true intention being rather to break through the Saxon and Austrian armies in Bohemia, so as to cut off the former. I would therefore impress on you once more that even should Prussia make no attack on Saxony, it would be far better to vacate the country with your entire army and to join forces with ours at the earliest possible opportunity. The danger to each of us is now so great that for the moment great sacrifices will also have to be made, while the final decision can only be attained after heavy fighting. In order therefore that a contest may be brought about with some degree of certainty on our side we must bring together all the forces we can muster. I lay very great stress on the Saxon troops fighting side by side with mine—to the end that my army may assist also in forwarding the future destiny of Saxony. I feel fully convinced that they will not flinch from this task and therefore beg you not to neglect the decisive moment, but to put your entire strength of purpose into the business of getting your men into Bohemia, even should the main portion of our Austrian army still be at a considerable distance from yours, for this is a matter which in any case must be determined by military considerations; and these alone can finally decide.

At the moment there are actually in Bohemia under your

command the 1st Army Corps, and the 1st division of Light Cavalry, so that, with their co-operation, the union of the Saxon with the Austrian Main Army should not be attended with great risks.

In this impending European war we shall not deflect from the standpoint taken up by the Bund—rather shall we steadfastly adhere to it, and it is my firm opinion as well as my intention that—should we issue from this fight as victors—the Kingdom of Saxony will at all events have to be indemnified and strengthened by a further increase of land.

(The following lines are written by his own hand.)

Excuse me for not having written the above myself, but I have been so occupied to-day as to render it impossible. How glad I am to know that you are to be at the head of the Saxon troops I need hardly mention ; and I look forward to a speedy co-operation between your army and mine. Sisi sends her love to you and to Carola, while I beg you to lay me at the feet of your wife—

In the hope that we may soon meet in action,
I remain your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ.

In order to make the following letter intelligible we must call to mind certain antecedent events connected with the beginning of this Austro-Prussian campaign. Benedek was collecting his troops in the neighbourhood of Olmütz : the first Army Corps was stationed in Bohemia, under the command of Count Clam Gallas : the South German Auxiliary Corps composed of 24,000 men with guns, was under the command of Crown Prince Albert, and had to vacate Saxony in face of the Prussians, and join the Corps of Clam Gallas. The Saxon defensive was equipped on the same lines as the Austrians, and the juncture was effected without a hitch, while in the field Saxony acquitted herself splendidly ; Albert, above all others, being entitled to the highest praise. By the 17th of July he had been clear of Dresden for several days and on the 18th the Prussians occupied that city.

In regard to that event Albert sent a letter to the Emperor Franz Joseph which was preserved in the War Archives and

has been published by Friedjung. The following letter is Franz Joseph's reply to Albert. It is a particularly cordial one, but complains of Bavaria's conduct. The Bavarian Minister-President, von der Pfordten, had vetoed the arrangement which the Chief of the Bavarian Staff, Von der Tann, had made, and had, indeed, refused his consent to the Bavarian troops being employed beyond their country's frontiers.

"Onkel Karl," the Chief Commander of the Bavarian forces, had also not been entirely enthusiastic at the idea of Bavarians fighting under Austrian command. All these matters worried the Emperor, yet he writes full of confidence:—

VIENNA, 20th June, 1866.

DEAR ALBERT !

Your letter from Pirna reached me yesterday and I thank you for it with all my heart. I am deeply touched that at such a moment you should still find time to write to me. I feel very glad as well as quieted to know that your gallant troops have now joined forces with mine, and I shall never forget the great sacrifice the King, your Father, has made on behalf of our common weal. A Just God will see that the Sacrifice is re-paid in blood: for me it will be a matter of honour never to rest until Saxony has issued from this just fight against insincerity and greed stronger and greater than she was before. Unfortunately your father's fine example is not being followed at Munich, where the Government is a prey to indolence, suspicion and egoism. After the co-operation and junction with the Bavarian troops had been carefully arranged for with General-Lt. Tann, Munich—on that officer's return—vetoed any such action in common with our army; under the pretext of having to protect their own lands. Yesterday I sent F.M.L. Count Huyn to Uncle Karl's Headquarters, where he is to stay, with orders at all events to insist on the Bavarian army proceeding at once to the attack—even if they will not join up with us—so as to free those countries which are now in the grip of Prussia, and to draw a portion of the enemy's troops away from Headquarters. I should be very thankful if your Father could bring some pressure to bear in Munich, and thus move them to decisive action, for his words will

cause less suspicion than ours. Perhaps, too, Count Beust might be able to persuade Herr von der Pfordten ; impressing on him that the time for hesitation and mediation is past, and that it is now a case of a big war,—one, too, in which strong and independent action may be able to bring about favourable results, but in which all who are weak are bound to get the worst of it, since—when it comes to the final reckoning—they will find that neither side is going to trouble to consider them. Alexander of Hesse is mobilizing his Army Corps with great energy near Frankfurt : I am sending him one brigade, and hope that he will soon be in a position to take the offensive. Ludwig has just arrived from Prague, bringing me the reassuring tidings that both the officials and the people received their worthy guests in a becoming manner, and that the good Saxons were quite content.

Adieu, dear Albert ; in the hope of seeing you soon,

I remain your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

The next letter deals with the time following on the collapse. Austria had forfeited her title to the foremost position in Germany : Venice had been lost—and the Peace of Nikolsburg had been ratified. Albert is about to leave Vienna for his own home and the Emperor, in addition to the official document, conveys his own personal thanks to his cousin. Franz Joseph had managed to preserve Saxony untouched for Albert. The tone of the letter is very depressed, testifying eloquently to the state of the Emperor's feelings after Königgrätz :—

PRAGUE, 18 October, 1866.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Forgive me for having delayed answering your kind letter of the 23rd until to-day ; but what with the perpetual state of turmoil in which I have been living for days past, and the amount of work that has been forwarded to me from Vienna, I have not had one moment's leisure. The King has been good enough to write to me from Teplitz, informing me of his return to Pillnitz and of the ratification of Peace. Beust arrived here the day before yesterday, and so I shall be able to notify his nomination within a few days.

As I fear that I shall no longer find you in Vienna I must make this letter the occasion for friendliest farewells, though my official thanks will already have reached you. My sincerest gratitude for the many proofs of warm friendship you have so repeatedly evinced for me in these hard days. Grateful thanks are due also to you and to your corps for their splendid services throughout this sad campaign. My good wishes accompany you on your homeward journey; God grant that you may there experience happier times and better conditions than Prussia's conduct has so far warranted us to expect. There is one thing upon which I can confidently build, and that is, that our friendship will remain firm and unchanged, whatever else Heaven may yet have in store for us. And so, Farewell, dear Albert; God grant that we may soon meet again, and in happier circumstances.

Begging you to convey my greetings to your wife, your brother, and your sister-in-law, I remain,

Your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

These were indeed "sombre and sad" times: blow had followed upon blow: and the Emperor was at Ofen, liquidating matters consequent on the defeat of 1866, and settling (though not without distaste and dread) the inevitable balance. Then came the tidings of the death of Albert's sister, following close on that of another Saxon princess. Franz Joseph sent a letter of heartfelt sympathy—alluding also with much warmth of feeling to the old king, Albert's father. In this letter we find him sounding a human note we seldom come across in his correspondence with other persons, while in it he still deploras the victory of "Wrong over Right and Honour."

OFEN, 15th March, 1867.

DEAR ALBERT!

Forgive me for troubling you with these lines; yet I cannot desist from letting you know how sincerely I sympathize with you in this fresh and irretrievable loss which has come upon us all!

On receipt of the news I telegraphed at once to your father;

will you please tell him that I have not ventured to write to him personally, but that I trust, knowing as he does my boundless attachment to and veneration for his person, he will feel assured of how sincerely I grieve for him. It is idle to seek about for words of comfort to offer to those suffering under such repeated blows from Fate; I can therefore only pray that God may grant your poor parents the requisite strength to enable them to bear so great a load of sorrows. Sisi, also, has been greatly affected by this sudden blow; all the more so as she has not been very well for some time past. That is why she had not written to Carola until yesterday—or to-day—for such was her intention when I left her to come here.

In these sad times—when Wrong has triumphed over Right and over Honour, my thoughts have indeed constantly reverted to you, and—whenever my task has seemed more than usually distasteful—I have dwelt on the King, whose lot is the harder one, and on poor, faithful Saxony. I was glad to be able to meet your wishes with regard to Miltitz; although I grieve at the departure of so fine and brave an officer. You will find that he will serve you well. Beust is already a thorough Austrian! he is developing commendable activity and energy, while at the same time preserving his sense of humour: we work together excellently.

With my most affectionate regards to your wife,

I remain your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Yet—for all this, what can be done?—for even in this “year of mourning” the season for the inevitable hunt is bound to approach . . . and so the Emperor goes a-hunting—at a time when the shadow cast by the tragic event at Queretaro has but barely lifted.

LAXENBURG, 10th *September*, 1867.

DEAREST ALBERT!

In this year of sadness and sorrow I still venture to let you know that—should no unforeseen circumstances prevent me—I hope to go to Ischl for the shooting from the 25th September until the beginning of October, and shall be very pleased

to see you there. I feel sure it would do you good to lose sight of your many troubles and annoyances among these lovely hills and though our party has now lost one of its best members, we may still look for good sport. Every stone about the neighbourhood reminds me of that unforgettable friend and at times it almost seems as though he must turn up at his familiar haunts. Nando will be at Ischl in any case, for he has been shooting there all the summer. Gaeckel is coming a little later as he wants to have some stag-hunting first on the estate he has recently rented, near Bairischzell, so you will find good company. Accommodation for you and one gentleman has been got ready at the Villa.

Please let me have an early answer, and in the hope that we shall see you very soon,

I am your faithful Cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

P.S.—Heartiest greeting to your wife and children, as well as to George and his wife.

The words in which the Emperor alludes to his brother, whose tragic death had occurred but a few weeks earlier, cannot but strike us as callous ; indeed, it almost seems as though he were seeking in a rather shamefaced manner to excuse himself for hunting at all, so soon after that event—at a time when “every stone” reminds him of “that unforgettable friend.” A strange man, indeed ! We find it difficult to credit the sentiments here expressed. . . . But for this reason the greater becomes the value we are bound to attach to these documents testifying to his friendship for Albert of Saxony . . . in this particular they possess the greater worth accruing to rare things.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR, AND AUTUMNAL SHOOTING AT ISCHL

Here are two letters of which the dates are 1869 and 1871. During the intervening time the Franco-German war has been fought to a finish ; and these two friends have only narrowly escaped confronting each other—sword in hand . . . owing to

the campaign being over before the Austrian Government had been able to come to any decision. These were the most glorious days in Albert's life. He took the field as Commander of a corps; rose to be Commander of the Army of the Meuse, and then, together with the Army of the Crown Prince of Prussia, was responsible for some memorable strategic movements in the Northern seat of war. He fought at Gravelotte; at St. Privat, and at Sedan; and finally took part in the siege of Paris and the entry into that city.

LAXENBURG, 4th August, 1869.

DEAREST ALBERT!

I was very pleased to receive your letter yesterday, and hasten to reply. Nando has told me in your name that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here in the autumn, which your letter also confirms, so that we shall at length meet again, and I trust that your stay may be a fairly long one. It will do you good to breathe this fresh mountain air among a circle of old friends, and—if possible—I too would like to have a few weeks of thorough rest, for my life has not been a bed of roses, seeing that the atmosphere has been particularly sultry this summer. My plans are as follows—provided always that I can keep to them, and that no disturbing influences come between, which, however, I have no reason to fear. About September I think of going to Gödöllő for a few days' stalking—the *Brunst-hirsche* there have remarkably fine antlers and their venison is excellent, besides which they offer very good sport. If you care to go too, will you meet me in Vienna, for if you could get there by the 21st, or 22nd, as I gather from your letter would be possible, there would still be time to have a little shooting, for the rut at Gödöllő does not begin before the 15th of September. From there we could go on to Ischl by way of Vienna, and then shoot there as long as you like. For the chamois hunting I shall select Traunstein; Kropferkaar; Gimbach; Höll; Hohe Schrott, and in addition—have a few drives at the red deer, as well as some stalking. Nando is sure to come, and I hope that Von Gaeckel may too. As my family will be at Ischl I am sorry that I shall not be able to put you up at the Villa, for, owing to our increase, the house is full of children,

Nurses and Governesses ! However, do let me know if my plans appeal to you and on which day you can meet me in Vienna. I am looking forward with great pleasure to seeing you again—so, with a “ Hunter’s Cheer ” which comes from the bottom of my heart,

I remain your faithful cousin,
FRANZ.

P.S.—Lay me at the feet of your wife.

SCHÖNBRUNN, 23rd August, 1871.

DEAR ALBERT !

Now that the Hunting season is approaching and as I hear that you would like to come, I am writing to invite you—after the time-honoured fashion. Should politics permit—I hope to start shooting about the first half of October, but will let you know the exact day later on. As I did not hunt at all last year we shall take all the best coverts this season, therefore—given good weather—our bags should be considerable. I am looking forward greatly to seeing you again, so much has taken place since last we met. And—although late in the day—I congratulate you most heartily on the excellent services you have rendered and on your splendid successes in the late war. I followed the course of events and took great pride in the recognition you received, feeling indeed that it must have been well earned.

Lay me at the feet of Carola, and in pleasurable anticipation of seeing you soon again,

I remain your true and sincere cousin,
FRANZ JOSEPH.

A GATHERING OF CROWNED HEADS

1873 was the year of the Vienna International Exhibition, as well as the anniversary of the twenty-fifth year of Franz Joseph’s reign. This Jubilee was attended by an almost interminable stream of potentates, consisting of Heirs Apparent ; Reigning Monarchs ; Grand Dukes ; Kings and Emperors—and Franz Joseph, as he recounts all these doings to his friend, begs him to postpone his *own* visit until the fuss is over

—and the Shah of Persia will have appeared upon the scenes ! for *that* will give them some real fun, this particular Shah seeming to have been the “Clown” of the occasion among the Emperors and Kings of Europe.

DEAR ALBERT !

Your dear letter of the 20th reached me to-day, and I hasten to thank you and your wife on behalf of both Sisi and myself for the good wishes you sent us by telegram and in writing on the occasion of Gisela's marriage. The newly-wedded couple—who are really very happy—left yesterday for Salzburg, where they will remain eight days. It is but natural that we should miss Gisela very much ; however we know her to be in good hands. The visit you and your wife intend paying us will come as a ray of light after all the fatigues of this summer and we are looking forward immensely to having you here with us. You will indeed be welcome at any time, but as you ask for a date, I think that August would probably be the pleasantest, for—according to the announcements I have so far received in regard to intending visitors—I think that by then my time will be less taken up with exalted guests and I should therefore be able to see much more of you. As for yourself—you might be able to combine the agreeable with the useful, and indulge in a little hunting on the neighbouring hills, which could not very well be done before that season. Perhaps we might manage to get a few spare days and make an expedition to Eisenerz, a spot I should so much like you to see. So far the impending visitors are—the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, on the 29th of April : the Prince of Wales on the 28th, and the Flemish Royalties about the same date—as also the Crown Prince of Denmark. Then about the beginning of June will see the Emperor of Russia here, together with the Heir Apparent and his wife, and the Grand Duke Wladimir. The Emperor William is to come either the middle or the end of June, the date not yet being fixed. Then about the beginning of July Queen Olga will be coming, and as soon as she leaves her husband will arrive. It is possible that the Shah of Persia may come in August, and he will most likely amuse rather than bore you ! Grand Duke Constantine will also be here

then—however he wishes to guard a strict *incognito*. I do not know as yet when the various German Dukes intend coming, excepting that the Grand Duke of Weimar means to arrive “by accident” at the same time as Emperor Alexander!—Therefore, as soon as you have fixed your own date, let me know.

Lay me at the feet of your wife, and in happy anticipation of seeing you soon again,

Your ever-faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Vienna, 21st April, 1873.

THE HARVEST OF DEATH: DEATH THE REAPER

In 1873 King John of Saxony—known as the “Friend of the Muses”—died, and Albert, Franz Joseph’s friend, succeeded to the throne. Sorrow and sympathy are the burden of this year’s correspondence. The troubles of officialism are also discussed, for the titular command of certain Austrian regiments have now to be readjusted. And then—in 1875, the Emperor Ferdinand dies at Prague . . . passing out of life as inconspicuously as when, in December, 1848, he had relinquished the throne to his nephew. Without much ado Franz Joseph tells his friend that he need not put himself to any great trouble in the matter of issuing “official announcements” of this event, since—as far as he, the Emperor, is concerned—there can be no question of any “heartfelt regrets.” And here again we get a glimpse of the *actual* Franz Joseph! for one feels that from his nephew above all other people poor Ferdinand might have met with a little more regard. But somehow, the Emperor and indeed the whole Court seemed to owe this unfortunate man a grudge as though he, in his impotence, had been to blame for the initial success of the Revolution of 1849. Franz Joseph seemed unable to realize how pitiful an object was this good-natured imbecile . . . even at the moment when abdicating the throne of Austria in his favour Ferdinand had said in his simple but kindly way: “There—only be good! You are quite welcome to it!” but 1875 was a far cry from Olmütz. . . .

Nor do we think that Franz Joseph's heart was greatly grieved when three years later he buried his own father, Archduke Franz Karl, for he too was another superfluous piece of goods, a bit of ancient furniture—to be pushed aside into any corner. Yet all these events had served as a warning to Franz Joseph to examine himself, and so it comes that there is a touch of autumnal chilliness in the next letter which—at the age of forty-five, we find him writing to his friend. In it he says that for the first time in his life he is beginning to “feel tired” . . . His wiry frame and unimpressible soul seemed to have suddenly become conscious of the stealthy approach of old-age. When referring to the visit of the old Emperor William, Franz Joseph remarks that he was glad when he was gone again! although even at that time matters of mutual interest linked both empires together . . . but for all that, and later too, when all ancient grudges had been finally forgotten, Franz Joseph could conceive no liking for the German Emperor, though by that time it had come to be a case of the *second* William. Indeed the personality of that Sovereign was utterly obnoxious to him. About this time Russian troubles were beginning to throw their shadows in advance, and after the Turco-Russian war of 1877, and just before the Berlin Congress, the Emperor had cause enough to complain bitterly of “these wretched politics.” Albert's Silver Wedding Anniversary brought him Franz Joseph's congratulations in the form of the following letter:—

GÖDÖLLÖ, 26th October, 1878.

DEAREST ALBERT!

My sincerest thanks for your dear letter of the 23rd, doubly precious, since it brings me your own account of your dear Father's condition. I am constantly thinking of you and yours and suffer in sympathy with you during these days of terrible anxiety. God grant you and your sorely-tried Mother strength to bear this long struggle as well as the approaching loss. You know my veneration for and attachment to your Father and may therefore imagine with what feelings of sorrow I hourly anticipate the tidings of his decease. Sisi shares my sorrow, and begs me to send her kind remembrances to you. With reference to Rittmeister von Stenglin I will make imme-

diate inquiries and see what can be done for him. Unfortunately we have far fewer Civil appointments than formerly, while the number of deserving officials on our lists is very great. But you may rest assured that in dealing with this matter I shall not forget your recommendation. I came here yesterday—and am thankful that Emperor William's visit to Vienna is at an end. I found Sisi much better than when I left her, thank God, but she is only making a slow recovery, her recent indisposition having pulled her down very much. Give my kindest greetings to Carola and to all!

God be with you!

Your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

GÖDÖLLÖ, *6th December, 1873.*

DEAREST ALBERT!

I did not like to intrude on you while your sorrow and many troubles were still fresh, and have therefore delayed until to-day to approach you in the matter of an inquiry as to which I should be glad to have a full and complete reply. I lay very great stress on the third Regiment of Dragoons, which since its formation has borne the title of the "Saxon," continuing to be associated with your name. There are two alternatives: I might ask you to accept either the Honorary Command of the Third Dragoons, in which case I would confer the style of Hon. Com. of your former regiment—the eleventh Infantry on your brother, or—should you prefer it—I would suggest your keeping your present regiment and assign the Honorary Command of the third Dragoons to your brother. Do please let me know which you would like best and I will act accordingly.

Once more my thanks for your telegram on the occasion of my Jubilee—I was both pleased and touched. We have had some strenuous times in Ofen and in Vienna, but there has been pleasure and satisfaction connected with it all, for the acclamation we met with on all sides was as great as it was universal. The entire celebration had the appearance of a family festivity, for there was nothing forced about it. I must thank you also for having sent us Prince Schönburg; I was

delighted to see him again. I have thought of you with feelings of the truest sympathy all through these sad times, yet to me—and to all who think rightly—it is indeed a great consolation to know that your country is in such safe and steady hands. Sisi sends her heartiest greetings to you and Carola. Begging you to lay me at the feet of your wife, and assuring you of my truest friendship,

I am your faithful cousin,
FRANZ JOSEPH.

ISCHL, 15th July, 1875.

DEAREST ALBERT!

My sincerest thanks for your letter of the 10th which reached me yesterday. It is really too good of you to want to apologize for not having sent George to the funeral—and this is but one more proof of your friendship for me. Yet I regarded it as entirely suitable and natural that you should not have sent your brother, for in a case such as this there could really be no question of any heartfelt regrets, and I had had the pleasure of seeing George a few days earlier at Bodenbach. It was also a real joy to see such an old friend as General Fabrice again. I came here the day before yesterday, and hope to enjoy about a fortnight's rest among the mountains after all the turmoil and terrible heat of the last few weeks. For the first time in my life I am beginning to feel tired and in need of rest. We are expecting the Emperor William to-day: he will remain until after lunch to-morrow. Gisela is to arrive in the evening with her husband and her eldest child; they are paying us a fortnight's visit. Unluckily a reunion of all the family here is impossible, for Rudolph is suffering from chicken-pox: he is already better and up, but he will have to remain at Schönbrunn for some time, and will indeed hardly be able to come here during our stay, for fear of infection.

As soon as I am in a position to say anything definite about this Autumn's shooting I will let you know. Unfortunately I shall have but little leisure this year.

Sisi sends hearty greetings, and I remain in true friendship
Your faithful cousin,
FRANZ.

VIENNA, 25th March, 1878.

DEAREST ALBERT !

My sincerest thanks for your kind lines of the 20th, and for your sympathy in the unexpected loss we have sustained. It was a great consolation to me that you should have sent your brother at this sorrowful time, and I thank both you and him for his presence.

As soon as I have received General von Sebottendorf's petition—at the time of writing it is not yet to hand—I will see what can be done, in view of your recommendation. Yet I am bound to tell you that the few and very occasional vacancies are generally ear-marked for deserving officers of the Guards, who also have been wounded in action. Rittmeister von Sebottendorf, by the way, is a very excellent officer. Your visit to Berlin must have been most interesting: so far we have had every reason to be satisfied with the state of foreign politics there, and our relations are of the best. Rudolph too had an excellent reception and was most kindly treated.

Politics are causing us some trouble just now; though I have the satisfaction of knowing that we have been entirely loyal, which is more than one can say of every one and we have experienced many painful disillusion. The celebrated or rather notorious Ignatief, is on his way here, and I am curious to see what this "Father of Lies," as the Turks call him, has in store for us.

Farewell, dearest Albert ! Greet Carola most affectionately from me.

Your faithful cousin,
FRANZ.

SCHÖNBRUNN, 15th June, 1878.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Although I need hardly assure you that every event connected with your family has my liveliest sympathy—yet on this, the 25th year of your marriage, I feel especially called upon to testify to my sentiments of most heartfelt friendship. My cousin William, who is to have the pleasure of being present at the Celebrations in your honour, will be able to assure both

you and Carola that my good wishes do indeed come from the very depths of my heart. May Heaven's blessing rest upon you, and preserve you for many years to come. To this sincere wish—in which Sisi joins me—I will add the equally sincere desire that our true friendship and affection may continue as heretofore.

Your faithful friend and cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

A GOOD YEAR FOR THE CHAMOIX

In the year 1878 no chamoix fell to the royal guns. Franz Joseph was unable to indulge in any hunting—and no more than one wretched stag at Gödöllő swelled Nimrod's bag that year. For it was the supreme year of high politics—of the Bosnian war, and of the Berlin Congress; and when Kings are at cross-purposes, the chamoix have it their own way.

In the following letter Franz Joseph alludes once more to a singer who had been fortunate enough to enjoy the favour of Albert's recommendation, and it was indeed a sign of the Emperor's gracious kindness that—for his friend's sake—he should have put himself to so much trouble on behalf of these gentry, for he took no interest either in Art, Science, or in anything else of the kind—a matter he himself has often deplored. But for Albert he would probably never have done anything for any musicians—since the occasional solicitude displayed at performances given at the Hofburg, was but a matter of the regard due to tradition.

DEAREST ALBERT!

Your kind letter recommending the singer, Frau Schuch, to my favour came at a most opportune moment, and I must therefore tender my thanks. We heard her yesterday in the "Traviata," which was given to a very full house, now-a-days a rare occurrence, and she pleased me very much indeed. Heartiest thanks for your kind and gracious reception of Rudolph. He wrote telling me that he was perfectly enchanted

with his stay in Dresden, as well as with all the beautiful and interesting sights he had enjoyed there. I regret so much that it should be impossible for me to send you the usual invitation to shoot with us this year. But owing to our Bosnian Expedition I have been unable to get away, and have indeed not as much as seen a chamoix this year. I shot one stag at Gödöllő and was for a few days early in January at Mürzsteg after the deer there. Let us hope that we may be able to make up for lost time next year, when I trust you will give me the pleasure of your company again.

With all the same old devotion I remain,

Your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

VIENNA, 26th February, 1880.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Many thanks for your letter received yesterday, in which you are kind enough to bring your Musical Conductor, Rappoldi, to my notice. If I can be of any service to him I shall be only too pleased.

I was delighted to hear what you say about Rudolph, and cannot sufficiently thank you and the Queen for the gracious kindness extended to him on his visit. He spoke with particular delight of the hunting expedition to Moritzburg, where the Castle interested him greatly. He will have told you all about our very successful winter shoots at Mürzsteg, at which I much regret you should not have been present. I trust that I may count on seeing you when we start hunting next autumn. This frightfully severe winter does not seem to have done the game any harm but it has cost a good deal in fodder. The frost here lasts so long that yesterday was the first hunting we have had at Göding, and owing to the state of the ground it was not a great success.

Begging you lay me at the feet of the Queen, and hoping that we shall meet again ere long,

I remain your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE REASON WHY THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE WAS NOT
RENEWED

The correspondence we now come to belongs to the higher walks of Politics. In 1881 King Albert visited Berlin, where he became acquainted with some of the transactions which—owing to Russian initiative—were taking place between Berlin and St. Petersburg, and into which at a later date Austria was to be drawn. Albert came to know also that intentions to frustrate these more intimate relations were rife in Vienna, and he therefore wrote to his friend endeavouring to persuade him from allowing “such trivialities” to bring the treaty to naught. One such “triviality” was—according to his opinion—the question of the Dardanelles, and another, as we gather from Franz Joseph’s reply, the Guarantees as to Bosnia.

Owing to the persistent pressure of Bismarck, who, mindful of Germany’s far-flung eastern frontier, desired security against Russia, the Triple Alliance was already in being. That it found favour with Franz Joseph too was evident, for—whenever circumstances seemed favourable—his hankerings after the bygone flesh-pots of Metternich’s Holy Alliance were renewed, although anything of the sort was in direct opposition to Andrassy’s fundamental conceptions. But in between all this had come those Balkan troubles in Bosnia and Serbia, and the smaller Balkan Nationalities together with Roumania had in consequence been waging their war of Independence against Turkey. When, therefore, in the Peace Treaty of San Stefano, Russian Diplomacy forgot the promises it had made to Austria touching Bosnia and the Herzegovina, a new constellation was called into being by which—at the Berlin Congress—Bulgaria’s independence became established, while the occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina was effected by Austria. Bismarck had not lost sight of the possibility of coming into closer connexion with Russia, as the following correspondence between Franz Joseph and Albert will show, and while seeking to pave the way for new negotiations, he sought to give special consideration to the knotty point of the interests of Austria, who since 1879 had been the Ally of Germany. Then came the blow dealt by the Russian Revolutionaries, and on the 13th

of March occurred the outrage which cost Alexander II his life. Yet within a few days of the tragic event the thread of these negotiations between Russia and Germany was taken up again by the late Tsar's successor. It would be saying too much if—after reading this letter—we were to express the opinion that Albert had any particular gifts in regard to high politics. He too seemed chiefly concerned that the Triple Alliance should be upheld for the sake of the Conservative Ideal, and he seems to try to awe the Emperor by referring to Bismarck—using him in fact as a kind of “bogy”—and saying that, should the Emperor demur too long, Bismarck might turn the Triple Alliance into a Dual one, and that as far as he—Albert—is concerned, he is “thankful that hitherto he had managed to find his own inclinations chiming with his duties as a sovereign.”

But Franz Joseph was not going to be intimidated by anyone—not even Albert. He knew that the Dual Alliance was equally necessary to Germany's own existence, while—apart from this—he would have been quite willing to join the Triple Alliance, although he clearly states his reasons for not being able to do so. The German and Russian Diplomats at St. Petersburg who had together drafted the treaty had further been responsible for another draft, intended to cement the treaty between Russia and Austria, without, however, having obtained the sanction of Austria's diplomats. This news had reached Vienna by way of Berlin and the draft in question also omitted a point which Franz Joseph had himself discussed with the murdered Tsar, namely the *Occupation of Bosnia*. Franz Joseph takes for granted, or—at all events—has the appearance of taking for granted—that the omission to mention Bosnia is merely *accidental*, and is of opinion that—once this has been made good—there is no reason why the Triple Alliance should not be effected. But this was not to be; for Bismarck brought in the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 without Austria, although this measure was to be of but short duration.

In 1889 there was presage of a closer union between France and Russia, such as Albert (and also Bismarck) had feared, and this soon developed into the Franco-Russian Alliance. Yet as early as 1887, at a time when there had been no Military

covenant between Paris and St. Petersburg, war alarms had been sounded at both the Sangerbrucke and the Quai D'Orsay, to the end that Bismarck saw himself constrained to introduce his Proposal in favour of the Triple Alliance at a full-dress Sitting of the Reichstag. This was the time when Italy also joined the Austro-German Alliance.

We may place before the reader certain letters from Franz Joseph to Albert, dating from the years 1886-87, without paying any particular attention to their chronological order. Their contents lead us to conclude that the Emperor does not consider himself to have been placed at a disadvantage or indeed to have been in any sense misled by Bismarck's Reinsurance treaty with Russia, for, though no party to the same himself, he seems to think that some possible advantage to Austria might yet accrue from this measure. The only feeling of resentment he entertains against Berlin is due to their too considerate treatment of Russia. In 1887—that year of crises—Franz Joseph can see no *actual danger* in Russia's mobilization, and he speaks with evident annoyance of the “noise” going on at Berlin—the nervousness and exaggeration—without, it is true, wholly ignoring the presence of *chronic danger* in that quarter. Yet from the tone in which he tells his friend and comrade of the military precautions which have been taken, as well as the extent of these precautionary measures, it is obvious that he does not consider that danger to be imminent. It would appear that Bismarck had—with his habitual want of consideration—as well as for reasons of “Home Politics”—fanned the flame of prevailing excitement, much as he had in 1875, when the false alarm of another Franco-German war had been raised. For in such matters he was wont simply to scout the risk—as far as Foreign Politics were concerned, . . . relying upon his “Iron Fist,” with which—if necessary—he was ready to secure peace.

STETTIN, 30th April, 1881.

DEAREST FRANZ!

You will probably be surprised at hearing from me at so unusual a time, but I feel anxious to unburden my mind to you. While attending the wedding-festivities at Berlin, I happened

to hear of a Russian proposal with a view to a treaty between you and us. I was very pleased at the idea, for it seems to me to foreshadow a renewal of the old Conservative Alliance which for so long a period was responsible for the Peace of Europe, while the individual points contain so much that is desirable for both of us, that I cannot but feel its acceptance to be most desirable. Yet I heard at the same time that many of these points had not met with favour in Vienna, and that therefore it was likely that the whole matter would have to be thrown overboard.

I was on the point of writing to you then and there, in order to implore you not to allow so important a matter to fall through, for the mere sake of a few insignificant details. However, the frightful crime committed at St. Petersburg intervened, bringing all further transactions to a standstill—if not to a final close. I now hear that the project has been resumed, but that your Ministry is still obstructing further progress in the matter, and so—as an old friend—I now venture to approach you, with the same plea I thought of putting forward in the first instance. It would be presumptuous for me to think of deciding which points may be of most—or least—importance in your sight; nor do I rightly understand what harm the paragraphs respecting the Dardanelles can occasion you. Still, the whole question seems to me to be one of so great importance as to be well worth some small sacrifice. In view of the unreliability—not to say—enmity—of the Western Powers, it appears to me that some “cover”—even should this be of no more than a passive nature—such as is offered by Russia at our rear, might become a vital question, especially when we consider the difficulty of your position in the Balkan Peninsula. Another thing is, that the impossibility of a Russian Alliance would have the effect of nipping in the bud all French and Italian inclinations for war.

I should not have ventured to put forward so daring a plea, did it not correspond with the views I seemed to gather obtained also in Berlin. F.B. [Bismarck—*Editor*] is now so eager to secure your Alliance (due he considers to his especial efforts) that he has finally and after long struggles got his old Master to accede also to his wishes. You know him—as well as I do :

his easily roused suspicions ; his obstinacy ; yet also his quick appreciation of fresh ideas ; and, finally, his love of vengeance, when he perceives his own plans to be obstructed by another. He certainly did not disguise the fact that he was to some extent put out with you, and it is just possible that anything of that kind might turn like into dislike—even to the extent of a change being made in his system, especially if he thought that anyone wanted, by the way of an equivalent, to force him to consent to alterations in *our* Treaty. I need hardly touch on what dangers would lie in the rescinding of the Alliance both for you and for us. For myself, no blow could be more severe ; since hitherto I have been in the happy position of being able to find that my own private feelings and my duties as a Sovereign were in mutual accord.

My own intentions are not in any way to obstruct the final decision by bringing forward any trivial objections, and—above all—not to place any difficulties in the way of frankly grasping the proffered hand. This seems to me to be the most desirable attitude for both parties. Forgive me for treating you to this long recital.

I remain your ever faithful cousin and friend,

ALBERT.

VIENNA, 5th May, 1881.

DEAR ALBERT !

Although at present more busy than usual I must not delay at all events to thank you for your confidential letter of the 30th of last month, with its kindly warnings and suggestions, and add a few words so as to dissipate your fears with regard to the momentary aspect of these important matters. In the interests of peace I also lay the highest value on a closer union between the Three Powers, and to this end I have welcomed Prince Bismarck's initiative for the furtherance of so desirable an object with the greatest pleasure, and given it my support. Indeed, when my Minister visited the Chancellor at Friedrichsruhe he gave his Excellency no cause for doubt on that score. You would seem to be fully acquainted with the different phases the question has passed through up to the

time of the terrible catastrophe of March 13th. A few days ago the conversations were renewed and the draft on which the treaty is to be based has been forwarded to St. Petersburg, without any direct co-operation from my Government. I do not grumble at the obvious fact that in so doing the wishes of the Russian Government will have been primarily considered ; yet we too have to think of certain political necessities, such as can by rights hardly be omitted.

No essential alterations have been made, while any that were considered have been dropped and the Russian proposals, with the exception of one point touching Bosnia, have been accepted, this having been their acknowledged intention during the life-time of the Emperor Alexander. Now, Russia's last proposals have left out this point : I take this to have been the result of a mere oversight, yet—for us—it is bound to be of serious importance. My earnest desire in the first instance was that the whole agreement should be of an essentially peaceful nature. Owing to the West being so uncertain, and to the fact that bad spirits seem active everywhere, I am bound to keep an anxious watch lest the next few years should bring about some complication in the Near East, and thus land us in trouble with Russia. I think that the only stumbling-block now left will admit of easy removal, and when once this has been effected I shall be ready to give my concurrence.

A close and intimate union with Germany means very much to me, and I should be glad to see this safely effected and be safe from the vicissitudes of change. Indeed, should this act as a warning to the West—bidding them go warily—and should it induce Russia to give new guarantees of peace, it will already have brought forth good fruit.

I trust that in the interests of all the resumed negotiations will be brought to a speedy conclusion, and wish for nothing better than that it may lead to securing good and confidential relations between Russia and ourselves. Thanking you once more for these new testimonies of your friendship, and with the most cordial greeting,

Your faithful cousin,
FRANZ JOSEPH.

VIENNA, *26th October*, 1886.

DEAREST ALBERT !

We have at last been able to make out our lists for the shooting-parties in the mountains, and I hasten to send you two copies, one for yourself, and one for Major von Malortic. As you will see by these there are still a few heads of game to be found. To-day Sisi and Valerie are to make the acquaintance of your niece Marie Josepha ; she is coming into town from Reichenau, together with her husband and his parents, and they are all going to dine with us. I am leaving here to-night for a short stay at Ofen and Gödöllő, and Sisi will join me there in a few days. The Delegations at Budapest start on the 4th November; unfortunately, just at a moment when Europe is in a state of constant uncertainty. May Heaven preserve Peace! Whatever we can do to its furtherance we most certainly shall.

With my kindest greetings to Carola,

I remain your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

VIENNA, *6th December*, 1886.

DEAREST ALBERT !

In answer to your kind letter I beg to tell you that in accordance with your wish, I have conferred on Frau Bayer the Gold Cross of Merit, with the Crown. It is a decoration which has in several instances been bestowed on distinguished ladies of the Theatrical Profession here in Austria, and I feel sure that on this occasion the recipient is equally worthy of the distinction.

We arrived here from Hungary the day before yesterday, the Delegations having been brought to a satisfactory and patriotic conclusion. All the same I am beset with grave troubles, for St. Petersburg is utterly undependable and I fear that the methods resorted to in Berlin are hardly calculated to keep the peace for us; and may indeed even place us in an untenable position, where Russia is concerned. There shall be no lack of patience and calm on our part—yet there is a limit to all things, and the patriotic feelings of our people have also to be taken into account.

Begging you to lay me at the feet of Carola, and with the most affectionate greetings from Sisi to you both,

I remain your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

VIENNA, 14th February, 1887.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Your letter of the 14th, for which I owe you many thanks, has interested me greatly, while its calm survey of the state of things gives me immense pleasure. I too am thoroughly alive to the seriousness of the situation. To me the principal danger seems to consist in the systematic forward movement of the Russian troops, and the way in which this accelerates their mobilization and advance, to say nothing of the anarchy dominant in Russian Government circles and the unreliable character of the Emperor. I do not anticipate any sudden assault within early date, although such a thing might not be impossible. Berlin seems afraid that we are too optimistic and unconcerned. Yet this is by no means the case ; for—before they raised the alarm—we were busy taking measures to safeguard our interests. This nervous, hasty, and—unfortunately—often contradictory harrying on the part of Berlin has done public opinion more harm than good, while it has not served to diminish the still existing distrust against Bismarck. Yet here I must assure you that I do not in the least share this distrust, and that I have never for a moment doubted that we can safely rely on Germany's honestly fulfilling the obligations she has taken upon herself in regard to ourselves. Indeed, this mutual confidence has never been marred, as far as we are concerned : for it is my opinion that the most scrupulous and closest accord with Germany on all military and political questions should be our guiding star.

This was my feeling when I spoke to Reuss a few days ago with reference to the renewal on a more definite basis of our military and political understanding, and I have already received an appreciative reply from Prince Bismarck. As Berlin seems to have quieted down during the past few days, and as we are taking military precautions, I trust that the Authorities at Friedrichsruhe will not be displeased with us.

The precautionary measures we have completed and also those partly begun are merely to safeguard us against any possible attack on the part of Russia, and to facilitate our concentrating in Galicia. We must, however, practise a certain amount of caution, so as not to provoke similar measures being taken on the part of Russia herself to the end that the whole business might be precipitated—and a conflict supervene at a time of year when fighting in that district would—as far as we are concerned—be impracticable.

It may interest you to know what we have been doing, and the following are the orders which have been given and are in process of being carried out. *Precautions*—all cavalry regiments in the Army are being increased by fifty men and fifty horses; all the batteries attached to both corps in Galicia are to be horsed throughout the whole first line, where such is at present not the case, as well as the one battery at Vienna which is under orders to proceed to Galicia, if required. Barracks are being erected to house this increase of troops for the Galician regiments, while the measures for defending Cracow and Przemisl are being continued, and Lemberg and Jaroslau placed in readiness to resist any sudden attack.

Preparations—which can be taken in hand any day and for which the orders may soon be issued. Increase of the Infantry and Jäger regiments belonging to both Galician corps, as well as of one brigade of a corps in Mähren: this is the so-called “peace-time” increase, which will raise it to something between normal strength and that of war-time footing. At the same time the Landwehr battalions in Galicia and in the Bukovina are to have their *cadres* increased by one hundred and fifty men, a measure which will facilitate the mobilization of the Landwehr and the Landsturm. The two divisions composed of Galician regiments now standing in Vienna are to be transferred to Galicia, and also two batteries of Engineers and two of Fortress Artillery, so as to meet the requirements of the four Galician cavalry regiments which still remain stationed outside Galicia. I should like to defer this movement of the regiments during the winter if possible, at all events until the barracks are in readiness, for the troops are bound to suffer both physically and in the matter of their

training too. But should things remain quiet over the winter it has been settled that the Galician troops shall then have their numerical strength increased in the Spring.

Excuse the length of this letter, but I wanted to place you *au courant* with my views and our intentions; after which I need but assure you of the sincerest attachment of your
Faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

A FORERUNNER OF LOUISE OF TUSCANY

We now come to a little tale of matrimonial interests which had a sad termination. In this matter Franz Joseph would seem to have been the medium—or to speak more correctly—the hinderer, of the impending match. Hunting is provocative of many happy thoughts—and apart from those of political treaties—matrimonial plans are at times introduced. Nando, the exiled and last Duke of Tuscany, and jovial jester to his fellow Royal Huntsmen, was the dearest comrade of Franz Joseph and Albert, so that when the latter was looking about for a suitable wife for his nephew—the Saxon heir presumptive—the daughter of his shooting-companion occurred to him as a possible choice. Saxon Princes found it no easy matter to come by wives; for while on the one hand they could only marry Catholic princesses, on the other, Catholic Courts did not care to send their princesses—for good and all—into Protestant countries, where it was quite possible that—sooner or later—the misfortune might come to pass of a Crown Prince having to be brought up in the Lutheran Faith. For this reason the Saxon Princes preferred making their choice from among the daughters of deposed Royalties, and, although these were not as numerous then as since the Great War, yet, owing to various events which had taken place during the nineteenth century, there was still a very fair reserve to draw upon. Albert therefore besought the aid of Franz Joseph, in order to secure the hand of Nando's eldest daughter, the Tuscan Princess, Archduchess Antoinette, on behalf of his nephew. This princess was the duke's daughter

by his first wife, who had been a Saxon princess, while Louise (who was destined to become the Crown Prince's wife at a later date) and Leopold Ferdinand (to be afterwards known as Leopold Wölfling) were the children of his second marriage with Princess Alix of Bourbon and Sicily. Louise of Tuscany was therefore the step-sister of Antoinette who was originally to have become Crown Princess of Saxony. Good Nando, being the last to stand in the way of his daughter's happiness, made no objections, although—for political reasons—it went somewhat against the grain to see his daughter marrying into the Family of a Protestant country ; yet he was ready to leave the final issue to Franz Joseph. Then, however, the Emperor wrote to Albert and informed him that the girl he had singled out as so eminently suitable was declared by the Court Physician to be stricken with consumption, and indeed likely to survive but a short time. This proved to be but too true, for Antoinette died when she had barely attained her twentieth year. The following letters concern the engagement and marriage of Louise of Tuscany.

OFEN, *9th May*, 1882.

DEAREST ALBERT !

In reply to your letter received yesterday, I hasten to let you know that I am about to write to Nando, who is at Salzburg. Unfortunately he left here at the close of the cock-shooting, for it would otherwise have been much easier to have talked over the matter to which you refer in person. But as it is, there is nothing for me to do but write, but I have at the same time informed him that I shall welcome his consent. Whether in view of Nando's pronounced political opinions my words will have any effect on the case I cannot venture to say, but if I can assist in bringing about yours and your sister's wish I shall be only too delighted. As soon as I have Nando's answer I shall communicate with you again. I hope to see you for certain at our autumn shooting in the mountains, and beg you to remember me most kindly to Carola.

I remain your faithful cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

SCHÖNBRUNN, 18th May, 1882.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Nando's reply reached me yesterday, and as it is in Italian I am sending you a translation. His letter contains some dubious phrases on politics, but although he diplomatically avoids saying "yes"—I seem to read between the lines that such a union would be very welcome to him. Yet he would prefer apparently remaining outside the transaction and delegates the final settlement of this affair to me. But here, unfortunately, the first point I am bound to mention is, Antoinette's health. Hofrath Wiederhofer had, I knew, been called in to a consultation at Salzburg, and I therefore felt it my duty to inquire what his opinion might be, so as to let you know before any further steps were taken. I now enclose his verdict, which is sad indeed. The physicians seem to have told Nando the entire truth of the case, and I can only ascribe it to his carelessness that he should not have evinced more concern about Antoinette's condition at the time of writing. You will now be able to weigh the matter and decide what had best be done. I shall be glad if you will let me have your final decision, and I shall be at your service in respect of whatever you may see fit to do. I intend to be quite frank with Nando in this matter, telling him that I have informed you of Wiederhofer's opinion, which will, of course, facilitate any possible abandonment of the project. I am exceedingly sorry to be obliged to send you such unpleasant tidings in respect to a matter to which I had looked forward with such pleasurable anticipations.

Ever your faithful cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

ISCHL, 14th July, 1891.

DEAREST ALBERT !

Forgive me for leaving your dear letter of the 12th unanswered until to-day. The fact is, that owing to lack of accommodation in the neighbourhood of where the manœuvres are to be held, I was obliged to make inquiries on the spot, so as to be sure as to whether it would be possible to find

quarters for your brother. I heard yesterday that he can be put up at a castle not far from Schwarzenau but that the accommodation will not be very first-class. Tell him, however, that we shall be delighted to see him at our manœuvres, and I am also very glad to hear that you intend arriving at Schwarzenau the day before we are expecting Emperor William. I need hardly tell you how pleased I was to hear of your nephew's engagement to Louise, and I trust that you will succeed in arranging for the wedding to take place towards the end of November.

Looking forward to seeing you soon. I remain,
Your faithful cousin and friend,
FRANZ JOSEPH.

ISCHL, 16th August, 1891.

DEAREST ALBERT!

I hear from my brother Ludwig that you are still in some uncertainty as to having been invited to your nephew's marriage. I had taken your presence at this family festivity as a matter of course; please regard this therefore as an official invitation to you, Carola, your brother and to all his children—and I shall be delighted for you all to be with us. Sisi says that you had asked her about the autumn hunts in the mountains; but I am still unable to give any definite reply, for I do not know if, or when, I may not have to go to Prague, when the manœuvres are over, and there are also some Cabinet-meetings pending, at which the Budgets submitted to the Delegations will have to be dealt with. Besides which—to be quite candid—I did not wish to touch on the question of hunting in the presence of Emperor William, being in the hope that we might be able to enjoy our shoots this year again as we did in past and happier days. If I can hunt, and if the time can be arranged to suit me, I shall rely on your company.

Looking forward to seeing you soon at the manœuvres,
I remain your faithful cousin and friend,
FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE MANAGER OF THE RING-THEATRE IS NOT
PARDONED

From the letters we have so far published the reader may have gathered that, warm and affectionate as was the Emperor's friendship for the King of Saxony, he nevertheless did not permit the latter to interfere in any way with what he held to be his sovereign duties. Whether it be an Army-man or some Civil-servant, for whom Albert might be anxious to secure favour, the Emperor's reply, while courteous, was always to the effect that he would consider the merits of the case, after having had the candidate's papers laid before him. He generally told Albert at once what particular hindrances might stand in the way of fulfilling his wish, so that Albert might not be disappointed should the reply be couched in negative terms. But whatever Franz Joseph refused his cousin in the case of Army and Civil officials, he usually accorded to the artists who enjoyed the King of Saxony's patronage. It seemed, indeed, as if in so doing, he were anxious to make up for the many disappointments given in other quarters. This particular quality of Franz Joseph's—that of not allowing himself to be influenced by anyone in matters of personal opinion—is well worthy of our notice, and the reserve he assumed on such occasions bordered on nervousness. Indeed, the nearer anyone stood to him, the more jealously watchful he became lest they might solicit his influence on behalf of some other person. Even Frau Katharina von Schrott soon became aware of this trait, and she therefore never undertook to seek the Emperor's goodwill for anyone. In the following letter the person in question is Jauner, the Director of the Ring-Theatre, which was destroyed by fire in the most terrible circumstances.

Jauner's brother was the Director of the Royal Opera House at Dresden, and Albert—in view of the former's petition—besought the Emperor's clemency on behalf of the unfortunate Director of the destroyed Ring-Theatre, who was then serving a term of imprisonment. But on this occasion Albert could achieve nothing beyond a promise that a portion of the term to be served by the culprit should be remitted—pardon

there could be none. And here the reasons advanced by Franz Joseph for his refusal are of interest, for it is evident that he is anxious to act conscientiously, while it is remarkable also to see how intimately he is acquainted with all Jauner's personal and family affairs.

VIENNA, 21st February, 1883.

DEAREST ALBERT !

I am very sorry that I cannot entirely comply with the request concerning Jauner, the former Director of the Ring-Theatre, put forward in your kind letter. The day before yesterday he submitted his petition for a pardon, or for the sentence to be commuted to a money fine. But although I am well aware of his irreproachable career up to the present event (his father and his brothers bear excellent characters, one of the latter holding a responsible position in the Home Office) I do not feel that such an act of clemency would agree with my own sense of justice and duty. The magnitude of the disaster and the whole horror of the affair, to say nothing of the culpable neglect attributable to Jauner, demand some expiation such as according to my feeling and those of the public could never be met by the mere payment of money. When Jauner has completed a portion of his short term of imprisonment it may be possible for me to absolve him from the remainder, and such is also my intention. But he will have you to thank for having intervened on his behalf, for but for this I should hardly have dealt so leniently with his case.

I envy Rudolph for the pleasure he is to have of seeing you in Berlin. I, unfortunately, shall have to wait till the autumn for our next happy meeting, and only trust that the weather may then be better than it was last year. This mild winter does not seem to have had any adverse effect on the game, so that we may look forward to some good hunting. Political conditions, also, are such as to permit of our dedicating ourselves whole-heartedly to sport !

With kindest greetings to Carola,

I remain your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE ARCHDUKES

WE must always bear in mind that Franz Joseph not only ruled the Monarchy but the Archducal House as well. This in itself meant a small population compared with the many peoples which went to make up the Monarchy. It was indeed a state within a state. And this state had its written and unwritten laws, while the inexorable, just, and greatly-to-be-feared, though ever-courteous guardian and executor of these laws was the Emperor. Many an Archduke and Archduchess rebelled against them, and as soon as the archduke and the man within any such person came into conflict one with the other, a ten years' war often followed, and the whole world was admitted to some shocking scandal. There were however suitable and ready-framed provisos to meet every thinkable case; definite formulas, embodying laws which had been handed down in the House of Habsburg, and Franz Joseph, the infallible Pope of the Church of Habsburg, kept a jealous eye upon this sacred tradition—upon this Great Principle embodied in the Law of the House—until the day of his death. We are all aware of how much trouble the Family caused him. On the whole he did not care for the Archdukes; indeed, he may even be said to have despised them. In the papers which have passed through our hands we have met with no more than the outline of this never-ending conflict waged between Franz Joseph and his relations. But there are numerous evidences of the way in which these Archdukes had to refer to their "Chief" whenever they wanted to go anywhere or do anything—even should they, for instance, wish to step beyond the limits of the Monarchy! And then note the solemnity with which Franz Joseph announces his decision, the way in which he kept order! If an Archduke wished to travel, the Emperor would telegraph his permission

—granting leave of absence for a specific time. And on the other hand, how polite and ingratiating he was with these folk, how solicitous that they should be housed and accommodated according to their rank, furnished with special trains, and occupy the Court-boxes at the theatres!

THE EMPEROR TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS
ARCHDUKE LUDWIG SALVATOR, AT TRIESTE

You have my permission to proceed to Cannes and—should you desire—to Algiers as well.

F.

Expdt. 6/II. 9.30 a.m., Gödöllö.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS
ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD, IN VIENNA

You have my permission for three days' leave of absence to Switzerland.

F. J.

Expdt. Budapest, 9/II. 1878. 8.15 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS SERENE HIGHNESS COURT MARSHAL
PRINCE HOHENLOHE, IN VIENNA

My brother-in-law Karl and his wife will arrive in Vienna on the morning of November 6th. Please arrange for carriages to meet them and for apartments.

F.

Expdt. Gödöllö, 1/II. 1884. 9.55 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS
ARCHDUKE OTTO, AT SCHLOSS PERSENBURG, NEAR YBBS

Your father has informed me that you wish to speak to me. I shall therefore expect you here, either on Sunday, 17th, or on Thursday, 21st. Telegraph to let me know on which day you are coming.

F.

Expdt. 15/7. 1887.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS,
ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD SALVATOR, AT LEMBURG

You have my permission to stay at Viareggio with your wife, and I request you to apply officially for this leave of absence.

F. J.

Expdt. 1/3. 1890.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HIGHNESS,
ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND, AT MINDSZENT, NEAR RAAB

Heartiest thanks for your letter of congratulation. You have my permission to go to Sweden.

F. J.

Expdt. 17/8. 1890. 2 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO THE CHIEF COURT MARSHAL, PRINCE
HOHENLOHE, IN VIENNA

The Coburgs are coming to a family dinner-party; also Archduchess Margarethe and her Betrothed; and Archduke Otto and Archduchess Marie Josepha. In regard to these latter however it will depend on whether they are in Vienna or at Reichenau. If the Crown-princess really means to go to the theatre she can have the smaller boxes. Prince Coburg will probably be asked to the Soirée, at 9 p.m.

F.

Expdt. Gödöllő, 6/10. 1892. 12.30 noon.

JOHANN ORTH'S "FREEDOM OF THE CITY"

An interesting figure in the "Habsburg Gallery" is Johann Orth: and we are inclined to wonder whether he was really something out of the common; whether it was *this* that made the Family House a prison to him; or whether he, too, was one of those revolutionary types which were ever and anon cropping up among the Habsburgers. Was he, in short, of the same brand as Max and Rudolph, who both flirted with Reforms, with the Liberal idea, with the middle-classes, and

with Nationality, only to come to the most tragic ends? Who shall say! . . .

The following letter gives the particulars of an adventure indulged in by Archduke Johann Salvator. The town of Linz had signified its desire to confer on him the Freedom of the City, a proposal the young Archduke accepted without more ado and without as much as thinking of asking the Emperor's permission in the first place. But the Emperor having read all about the affair in the newspapers promptly wrote to the Austrian Minister President demanding further particulars. Count Taaffe tendered his report, and this was subsequently used as the basis whereon to draft a document in the Emperor's own handwriting in which he decrees that such a thing must never be allowed to take place again. But here is the document itself:—

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER PRESIDENT COUNT TAAFFE

RADMER, *7th October, 1887.*

I have read in the daily papers that the Common Council of Linz have confirmed the Freedom of their City upon Archduke Johann. As far as I am aware no similar case has ever occurred before, nor does it appear to be in keeping with the position occupied by Members of the Dynasty. And since this is liable to create a precedent for further acts of a similar nature I shall be glad if you will acquaint me with your own views on the subject, and let me know if it would not be feasible to render this decision arrived at by the Common Council null and void. In addition to this, the "Presse" has published a letter of thanks from the Archduke to the Bürgermeister of Linz, for which reason it seems to me to be all the more necessary that the matter should be taken up promptly and inquired into without further delay.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

ad. B. 7s. 1887.

MOST GRACIOUS MASTER!

Your Majesty's gracious and confidential letter of the 7th inst. concerning the Freedom of the provincial Capital of Linz, conferred on his Imperial and Royal Highness, Archduke

Johann, and requesting a report on the same has reached me to-day. The above-mentioned conferment was made known to me on the 3rd, in the form of the enclosed minute, from the Statthalter, and is brought to your gracious notice in "Reports of Cases of Precedence" of the 6th inst., no. 3711.

M. J.

Since His R. and I.H.'s consent to the act decided upon by the Common Council of Linz will have been given with every loyal intention, and owing to the fact that the Freedom has actually been conferred, no official action to oppose the same would now be feasible; for such a step could only be taken in the case of an illegal resolution. Any inquiry into the rights of the Common Council to confer would also hardly be in place, for it would be dealing with an act already committed and which is therefore past recall.

As regards the case itself, I am respectfully of opinion that the acceptance of honours conferred by special Bodies on members of Your Imperial Majesty's House is perhaps not entirely in keeping with the exalted positions they are called upon to hold in regard to the State, and I feel happy to think that I should in this instance be of the same mind as Your Imperial Majesty. I would further respectfully observe that not only is the bestowal of such honours unsuitable in regard to the position of these members, but that also for political reasons their acceptance is bound to be highly undesirable, for it would not do for the various Archdukes to be drawn into any political or national quarrels upon which such public bodies might embark. As, however, such bestowal can in no case occur without the previous permission of the honourable Member in question having been obtained, I would venture to suggest to Your Majesty that it might be advisable to make your gracious will concerning this matter known to all Members of the Imperial House—namely, that the acceptance of all similar honours shall for all future time be regarded as strictly forbidden.

TAAFFE.

Vienna, 8th October, 1897.

FRANZ JOSEPH

THE HUMBLE REPORT
OF THE TRULY OBEDIENT COUNT
EDUARD TAAFFE,
MINISTER PRESIDENT, ENTRUSTED WITH THE
CONDUCT OF HOME AFFAIRS

(In the Emperor's hand)

I wish to see the draft of a document embodying the suggestions against which I have placed a mark and which occur at the close of the above report. Such a communication is to be addressed and forwarded to all the Archdukes—with the exception of Archduke Johann—who shall have attained their majority, while it is also to inform them that the reason for taking this step is due to the acceptance by Archduke Johann of the Freedom of the town of Linz.

Fz.

B. 7s. 1887.

(In his own handwriting)

To all the Archdukes (who have attained their majority) and who are mentioned in the enclosed list:—

Dear . . . !

Owing to the city of Linz having recently conferred its freedom upon Archduke Johann I have decided—for Reasons of State and Policy—that no such honours offered to Members of the Imperial House shall in future be accepted by them.

Fz.

Exp. 13/10. 1887.

(Here follows a list of the names and addresses of all the Archdukes who have attained their majority.)

We now come to a period of some three years later—and search is being made for the “Santa Margherita,” the ship on which “Johann Orth” had so mysteriously disappeared, off the coast of South America.

THE EMPEROR TO THE DIVISIONAL CHEF—VON SZÖGYENYI,
IN VIENNA

Has telegraphic inquiry respecting Johann Orth been made at other places along the American coast? His brother would be glad to have inquiries instituted at Montevideo as to whether he may not have journeyed inland.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 9/II. 1890. 7.45 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I. AND R.H. ARCHDUKE CARL SALVATOR,
AT ARCO

A telegram had already been sent to Montevideo on 29th October, where the Consular Official placed himself in communication with the General Consul at Buenos Aires. The latter has reported that the "Santa Margherita," with Johann Orth on board, left there on 10th July. Telegrams are now being forwarded to every place along the South American coast at which the "Santa Margherita" might possibly have touched. I have written to you to-day.

Fz.

Exp. 9/II. 1890. 5.30 p.m.

RUDOLF AND STEPHANIE

THE following telegrams are some of those sent by the Emperor to his son Crown Prince Rudolf, who was destined to figure as the hero of one of the greatest of all the Habsburg tragedies. The first is a message of greeting sent to the nineteen-year-old Archduke on his return from a mission to Tirol, where he had gone in his father's stead. The final ones are those sent by Franz Joseph to the various Courts, giving the news of what had befallen on the "black day" at Mayerling. After all the statements which have already been made the reader need hardly be surprised to find that intercourse between father and son was devoid of all closer intimacy; that it was, indeed, of a purely formal nature. It is a matter of "the Emperor" dealing with "the Crown Prince"—whose rank and importance is to be kept in mind on every occasion; but between these two there is nothing of the intimacy of father and son. This frigidity showed in a more glaring light at the time of Rudolf's suicide—and gave rise to a natural feeling of surprise. The general opinion was that this young man—who had been so full of life—must have yearned above all things to test his own abilities, and that he gave way to a mistaken course of life simply because every opportunity for accomplishing serious work was denied him. At every turn he was prevented from showing what he might be capable of. Thus finally—and in desperation—he was driven to desperate acts, although we do not yet know for certain the nature of these acts which led to his ultimate ruin.

The Emperor's frigid telegrams show us what Rudolf's activities mostly consisted in: on occasions which were of no more than very secondary importance he had to "deputize"; in this capacity it became his business to receive Serbian and Roumanian Royalties, or attend the Meetings of the Hungarian

Academy of Science, etc. But there was one activity which the Emperor was ever ready to share with his son—hunting ! For Rudolf, too, was a Mighty Hunter before the Lord—and the Emperor may possibly have thought that sport meant as much to his son as it did to himself, for had Franz Joseph not been an Emperor he would most certainly have led a perfectly happy and contented life among the stags and chamoix. But—in view of the terrible close to this young life—the terms of ceremonial politeness in which these telegrams are couched strike us as almost inhuman ! and yet—at the same time—there is something systematic even in this politeness : for it embodied the Emperor's method whereby he created a sense of distance between himself and others. In the same systematic manner he never omitted to return thanks for every letter received from his son, and also to send all obligatory “ greetings ” and “ congratulations.” And so long as this son was no more than the “ heir apparent,” so long as he tamely obeyed the Emperor's behests—so long, too, things went smoothly enough ; that is to say if the Archduke took care to ask the Emperor's permission to use the Court-box, should he desire to go to the theatre. The breach in their intercourse did not occur until—at the age of thirty-three—the Archduke finally rebelled and gave up asking permission.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS ROYAL AND IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,
CROWN PRINCE RUDOLF, AT INNSBRUCK

Heartiest thanks for your telegram. I am very pleased to hear of the affectionate welcome vouchsafed to you by faithful Tirol.

I embrace you cordially.

F.

Exp. 28/9. 1877. 8.30 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS ROYAL AND IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,
CROWN PRINCE RUDOLF, AT PRAGUE

Prince Milan and his wife wish to call on you at Prague and will arrive there on 9th July. He would be glad to know whether they are to have accommodation at the Burg in the Hradschin, or at an hotel. Send me a telegram at once telling

me whether they can be put up at the Burg—which would be best, providing it suits you. The Prince's suite consists of three persons; and the Princess has two.

F.

Ischl, Exp. 1/7. 1881. 9.15 a.m.

Mardegani.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS ROYAL AND IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,
CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH, IN VIENNA

Next Tuesday afternoon I intend going to Mürzsteg for two or three days' shooting. Will you come?

F.

Gödöllő, 13/12. 1883. 5.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS ROYAL AND IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,
CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH, AT LAXENBURG

Sincerest thanks for your letter. Show as much cordiality as possible to their Roumanian Majesties, and greet them most kindly from Mama and from me, and express my regret that I am not able to be in Vienna to receive them myself. Send all necessary directions to the various official Court centres. We embrace you heartily.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 22/10. 1884. 2.25 p.m.

The following telegram is one sent to Stephanie, then staying at Miramar. This miracle of a rock-bound Castle, to which Max—to create a garden—had had the soil brought up by the cart-load and from a distance, seemed under the curse of some evil fate. Prior to Stephanie's advent, another Belgian princess, just as cold and beautiful—though of a dark type—had dwelt there, and Charlotte's husband came by as tragic an end as did Stephanie's Crown Prince. And after these, Miramar had fallen to Franz Ferdinand. Small wonder then if it be said that a curse lay on the place. And yet it may be wrong to lay the stigma on the castle itself or on any castle of which the tenants were Habsburgers, for it was the race itself that bore the curse within it.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS STEPHANIE,
AT MIRAMAR

I am glad to hear of your safe arrival and that you are pleased with Miramar. We embrace you cordially.

Exp. 25/8. 1885.

F. J.

Kremsier.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH,
AT LAXENBURG

When shall you come? Do you intend to hunt here? We have just been to visit the Little One, and found her in the best of spirits.

Exp. 16/7. 1887.

F.

What a trial! And what an almost superhuman problem! Here are the telegrams sent out by Franz Joseph on the morning following that night when one of the most ghastly tragedies ever known had been enacted at Mayerling—a tragedy in which truth far outstripped fiction! Yet in the telegrams to the various Courts the Emperor announces that his son had died of “a heart-attack”! At that very time his son’s body was probably lying at the shooting-box at Mayerling . . . but the father felt obliged to keep to the official lie. These instructions would seem to have emanated from Franz Joseph himself, for even at that moment his primary thought was apparently his duty as Sovereign; and, indeed, who would have dared to have placed a draft before him bearing the suggestion of “heart-failure,” unless he had first been consulted?

These telegrams bear evidence of not having been drafted by the usual hand, or at the Chancellor’s Office, nor do they appear to have been dispatched in the usual manner, for they bear no record of the hour at which they were handed in to the telegraphist, and the name of the assistant-secretary has been omitted. It would seem as though they had been written by someone about the Emperor’s person—and at his orders. There are signs of corrections having been made, and in one draft the tremulous hand of the writer has made the mistake of putting “Mayringen,” instead of “Mayerling”—the name

of the shooting-lodge not being known to all the world then as it is to-day.

(1) TO HIS MAJESTY, EMPEROR WILLIAM, BERLIN

(2) TO THE QUEEN OF SPAIN, MADRID

Deeply moved I beg to announce to you that Rudolph, who had gone to Mayerling for the shooting, died suddenly this morning. Probably heart failure.

(3) TO THEIR MAJESTIES, THE KING AND QUEEN OF THE
BELGIANS, BRUSSELS

It is my sad task to inform you with the deepest sorrow that our Rudolph died this morning suddenly, at Mayerling, where he had gone to shoot. Probably heart failure. God strengthen us all!

(4) TO HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN,
LONDON

Deeply moved I beg to inform Your Majesty that my son Rudolph—etc., etc. . . .

Exp. 30/1. 1889.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

À SA MAJESTÉ L'EMPEREUR DE TOUTES LES RUSSIES,
PETERSBOURG

À SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI D'ITALIE, ROME

C'est avec la plus profonde douleur que je viens T'annoncer la mort subite de mon fils Rodolphe qui a succombé ce matin à Mayerling à un coup de sang. Je suis sûr de la part sincère que Tu prendras à cette perte cruelle.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

The draft of the next telegram—one to the Pope—was apparently not written at the same time as the others, or at the first flush of the terrible tidings, but somewhat later.

31/1. 1889.

C'est avec la plus profonde douleur que je viens annoncer à Votre Sainteté la mort subite de mon fils Rodolphe. Je suis sûr de la part sincère qu'Elle prendra à cette perte

cruelle ; j'en fais le sacrifice à Dieu, auquel je rends sans murmure ce que j'ai reçu de Lui. J'implore pour moi et ma famille la Bénédiction Apostolique.

Two months have gone by, when we come to the first telegram to Stephanie, in which the Emperor addresses her as the "Dowager-Crown Princess"; while before very long she will again have changed her rank and name for that of the Countess Lónyay. . . .

The Emperor bestowed much thought on the "Little One"—his grand-daughter. In the family circle she was known by the Hungarian name of "Erzsi"—which the Emperor always wrote with the wrong accent "Ērzsi." In later life she became known as the Princess Windisch-Grätz.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. THE DOWAGER CROWN-PRINCESS, ARCHDUCHESS STEPHANIE, AT GRIES, NEAR
BOZEN, TIROL

Sincere thanks for the good news. It is snowing here. I embrace you cordially.

Exp. 11/4. 1890. 3.45 p.m.

F.

At Munich.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. THE DOWAGER CROWN-PRINCESS, ARCHDUCHESS STEPHANIE, IN VIENNA

Gisela has been very poorly and is still too weak to move from one Villa to another, so we shall have to arrange for her and the whole family to go straight to the Villa, and should therefore be glad if you and the Little One would come and stay with us at the above-named Villa. Hoping to see you soon, I embrace both you and Erzsi.

Exp. 26/7. 1890. 4 p.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS ELISABETH,
AT LAXENBURG

I wish you many Happy Returns of your birthday, and embrace both you and Mama. I hope you will like the pony-carriage.

Fz.

Exp. 2/9. 1890. 6.45 a.m.

THE DAUGHTERS

THE Emperor's two daughters, Gisela and Marie Valérie, married young, and therefore came only from time to time on visits to Vienna or to Schönbrunn. And so we find that letters and telegrams—far more telegrams than letters—promoted the intercourse with home. Here we come to see Franz Joseph in his capacity of the thoughtful and courteous Patriarch: in fact, the same Olympian Unapproachableness which went to make "an Emperor" of the Emperor characterizes even these letters. He is solicitous that his daughters and their husbands shall be furnished with "boxes for the theatre," and similar attentions: he presents his grandchildren with ponies, and is even interested in the health of these small horses. Ponies seem indeed to have been the Emperor's stereotyped gift—for they are perpetually cropping up throughout his correspondence. Even when Elisabeth, Rudolph's little daughter, is to receive a gift, this resolves itself into the inevitable pony. The Emperor was also most anxious to know the state of the family's health; and, should there be a sick member, his inquiries were made daily. He would also send carefully worded reports as to the weather—telling them that it had snowed or rained, nor did he ever fail to telegraph the results of the manœuvres, specifying the particular divisions he had himself reviewed. Yet there is never so much as an intimately personal or affectionate word! It is always "I embrace you cordially," and from the daughters, "I kiss your hand in all sincerity!"

"Mama" is always good subject-matter: at one time she will be on the shores of the Ægean—at another, on the Mediterranean—or the Adriatic, or in Paris, or perhaps even in Switzerland, roaming about in search of the sun, and the

fulfilment of her dreams. And the Emperor, who received such tidings daily, telling him that the Empress had arrived either in Africa or at Corfu, would himself pass the news on to his daughters:—

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS GISELA OF
BAVARIA, AT MUNICH

Our sincerest good wishes for Conrad's Name-day. There is some snow on the ground here. We embrace you with all our heart.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 26/II. 1886. 7.20 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS GISELA OF
BAVARIA, AT MUNICH

Am so glad that the horses have arrived, but sorry that the best of the two should be sick. Many thanks for your letter of yesterday. We shall remain here for the present, and embrace you affectionately.

F.

Budapest, 23/3. 1889.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS
GISELA OF BAVARIA, IN MUNICH

Many thanks for your letter of the day before yesterday. We are looking forward with pleasure to seeing you on Tuesday. I have had apartments prepared for you at the Burg to-day; hope all will be in order, in spite of short notice. The Royal Box will of course be at your disposal.

F.

II/II. 1888. 9. •

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS
GISELA OF BAVARIA, IN MUNICH

I read in the papers that Grand-mama is ill. Is this so?

F.

Exp. Budapest, 26/3. 3.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS MARIE
VALÉRIE, AT ISCHL

My sincerest thanks for your telegram. It has rained here without ceasing all the afternoon. Manœuvres impossible: reviewed 9th division in a deluge of rain. To-morrow, after having reviewed the 19th division, I intend going to Budweis, doing the journey partly by train and partly by road, as the line has been interfered with by this perpetual rain, and is in many places under water. From there I shall travel on to Vienna. I embrace you with all my heart.

F.

1889.

THE EMPEROR (*of Austria*—this having been scratched out)
TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS VALÉRIE, AT WELS

Mama has telegraphed to me from Mentone, where she intends remaining for the day.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS
GISELA OF BAVARIA, AT MUNICH

(A repetition of the foregoing draft and then) Have the boys returned from Meran? And how are they?

F.

Exp. 20/10. 1890. 6 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS MARIE
VALÉRIE, AT WELS

Nopcsa telegraphs from Florence:—Have arrived here—cold and stormy. All well.

F. J.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R. AND I.H. PRINCESS
GISELA OF BAVARIA, AT MUNICH

(A repetition of the above.)

F.

Exp. 24/10. 1890. 4.30 a.m.
Schönbrunn.

THE EMPRESS ELISABETH

THE life of Franz Joseph exemplifies—better, we think, than any other life known to us—that it is not outward events, but the character of the man experiencing those events, which determines his fate. Few lives have been so fraught with tragedy with overwhelming disasters of historical importance; and—as though these were not enough, the companion of his life—Elisabeth—alluring and mysterious—a woman “nobly planned,” was nevertheless marked out by fate and destined to perish tragically and before her time.

There is a natural inclination to assume that such tragedies are reserved for some hero of romance alone—for one whom Fate, at the end of many centuries deliberately singles out, to lacerate his heart-strings and awaken dormant emotions. Yet Franz Joseph took all the momentous experiences Fate had decreed should befall him—calmly, with indifference, or downright insensitiveness. However terrible, nay, agonizing the event, it was yet ever a case of “*la séance continue*”; and as a matter of fact, the “business of reigning” *did* go on with the same amazing regularity; the day’s work was carried out; and the “duty,” whatever it was, was performed with the same punctilious precision.

Smart manœuvres and successful shooting expeditions threw a veil over the most tragic events, the most memorable incidents and remarkable men whom the Emperor had been fated to meet upon his life’s highway. There can be little doubt that in the management of these matters lay great art—the art of giving to all things extravagant, uncommon, incongruous, the semblance of being mere every-day occurrences; and, indeed, it is due to this gift that Franz Joseph was able to acquire the reputation of being the most perfect

gentleman who ever sat upon a throne. Jules Verne's fanciful creation—Phileas Fogg—who went round the world in an eighty days' voyage, bristling with hair-breadth escapes, did not possess the imperturbable indifference that characterized *this* gentleman, who for some sixty years of his journey through life made history, the while History herself was getting busy to reverse the order of things.

Franz Joseph's neutral attitude had the effect of taking the colour out of others, as it were, and this may be clearly seen in his relations with Elisabeth. It stamped his most trivial formalities; for is there anything more characteristic of the "perfect gentleman" than this everlasting talk about the weather, what it was like yesterday and what it may be expected to be like to-morrow? Thus the telegrams sent by Franz Joseph when staying at Budapest, or Gödöllő, or on manœuvres at Jungbunzlau, to his wife sojourning maybe at Tunis, Corfu, Venice, or Paris, are limited in nine cases out of ten to bulletins as to the temperature of the air that the Emperor is at that moment inhaling. Now and again he may exceed this limit, and then we get a more detailed analysis of the climatic conditions, as, for instance, when he telegraphs that it is windy, or warm—or that a storm has been raging, which was followed by fine weather, etc., etc.

In the earlier pages of this book we have had occasion to note the admirable patience and solicitude with which he followed the Empress's erratic career as she wandered from place to place. However occupied he might be he never omitted to attend personally to the demands made by Empress "Sisi"—and his ever-watchful eye watched her unceasingly upon her distant travels. If he entertained doubts as to the facilities for landing at some harbour for which the Empress was bound, or if he was of opinion that her presence at any given place might for political reasons occasion difficulties, he simply vetoed her plans. But on the whole he viewed her fantastic mode of existence—little as it may actually have appealed to him—with a kindly and fatherly indulgence. Nor did he show her—far less allow the world to see—that he felt the least annoyance at her inconsequent whims and tempers, for these too were part and parcel of the

world's dispensation, inexplicable—even as are the Mysteries of the Holy Catholic Church—things we cannot understand, yet which no level-headed individual should worry about, so long as they do not cause a hitch in the usual business of administration.

He gave careful heed to the Empress's *noms de guerre*: called her "Countess Hohenembs"; Mrs. Nicholson-Chazalie, etc., even when it was mere romantic nonsense, without any actual cause for an incognito. Still, the word "Empress" would at unguarded moments slip from his pen, in spite of all his care. . . .

Nor does he omit to make use of the pseudonym invented for his own use—"Megaliotis"—although it does not seem quite certain that he knew what it meant, in spite of his having had special instruction into the mysteries of Greek terms when he was a child. But the name had been of the Empress's choosing, and so he did not probe too deeply into the why and wherefore.

We have already noticed how, in response to his wife's letters, he too would embark on flights of poetry—as witness the wording of sundry telegrams—and all these little acts were the outcome of a superfluity of courteous endeavour, which verged almost upon affection. But Elisabeth had no influence over him—and in all his acts—as also in himself—he remained that which he had ever been.

In trying to visualize his intercourse with the Empress we quite involuntarily get a picture of some great Newfoundland dog consorting on terms of touching intimacy with a kitten: the big good-humoured fellow showing gentle forbearance with the little creature as it plays with his pendent ears—and even adjusting his position so as to give her more scope and freedom—yet without troubling so much as to glance at her capers. . . .

Elisabeth was often ailing, and the Emperor took a lively interest in the state of her health—however far away she might be. In the telegrams sent to his children he again and again comments with concern on the fact that "Mama" has taken a chill—or is suffering from her throat—or, maybe, her eyes, and he would not even permit her to travel to Munich to

see her dying father because he feared she might catch cold on the journey, and therefore declared himself prepared to go in her stead and attend to all the necessary details. And yet—for all his care and concern and his vetoes placed on landing on the dangerous shores of Asia Minor, the poor inconsistent, travel-loving Empress was not to escape her fate. What irony of circumstance resides in the fact that this fate was to be met in a populous and highly-civilized country, from the thrust of an assassin's dagger on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. . . .

According to all appearances some exciting scenes must have taken place between the Emperor and the Empress before this permanent and harmonious balance became the order of the day. It is certain that *something* must have happened which ended in the wife roaming about the world, while the husband remained at home—immersed in “affairs of state.” Yet this is a question which is likely to remain unsolved so long as we have nothing better to go upon than rumours which are the outcome of mere baseless gossip concerning days long past.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA, AT
CORFU

Sincerest thanks for your letter of the 17th, which reached me yesterday. I am delighted to hear that you think of returning on the third of November, and shall be at Gödöllő to receive you. I shall be very pleased for Henriette to come there too, and I will invite the two gentlemen. We are all well. I embrace you most affectionately.

F.

Exp. 27/10. 7.32 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HER MAJESTY THE EMPRESS, AT VIENNA

Hunted yesterday with two others—but without securing a kill; sport brisk and good, although the coverts were divided by a deep and wide channel which I and many others were loath to wade through for fear of rheumatism, and so the hunt was a failure. Both people and weather agreeable,

although some rain. To-day, however, is lovely and sunny. To-morrow we shall be at St. Mihály : stags. The next day—the coverts at Pascal. Am sorry that you are arriving at such a late hour. I embrace you with all my heart.

Exp. 29/11. 1883. 1.30 p.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS, AT GÖDÖLLÖ

Best thanks for the grapes, which have just arrived. I am leaving for Vienna to-morrow evening, and shall remain there over Saturday and Sunday. Sunday evening I intend going to Radmer. I embrace you most cordially.

Exp. 1/10. 1884. 2.15 p.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS, AT SCHÖNBRUNN

Just arrived here safely, after very successful manoeuvres and an imposing and equally hearty reception. How are you to-day?

Exp. 27/8. 1885.

F.

Maassburg.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS AT RADMER, NEAR
HIEFLAU, IN STYRIA

Sincerest thanks for your telegram of today ; it was awaiting me on my arrival here. I embrace you, and am looking forward to our next meeting, although it will unfortunately be only for such a short time.

Exp. 22/9. 1885.

FJ.

BY SUNNY SHORES

THE EMPEROR TO HIS EXCELLENCY, CHIEF COURT MARSHAL,
TO HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPRESS, BARON
NOPCSA, AT RAGUSA, OR CORFU

I regret that I cannot accord my permission for passage through the Dardanelles, nor for a landing to be effected at Smyrna.

Exp. Radmer, 6/10. 1885. 5.40 p.m.

F.

To the same address at Corfu.

A Landing can be made at Kum Kale and Troy may be visited, if proper precautions are taken against the probably insecure condition of the country, and should this involve no personal danger (*to the Empress . . . these words are crossed out in the original*) to Countess Hohenembs.

Exp. Eisenerz, 7/10. 1885. 2.15 p.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS AT MIRAMAR

We are glad to hear of your arrival and are looking forward immensely to to-morrow morning. I have just got here. Cloudless sky and 5 degrees of frost.

Exp. 18/11. 1885. 8.45 a.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA, AT
CORFU

I advise you most earnestly not to go to Munich, for in the present cold state of the weather, you might easily be taken ill, and as I have an impression that Papa is rapidly approaching his end, you would be sure to arrive too late. Should I unfortunately happen to be right, I will be certain to attend the funeral at Munich myself.

Exp. 13/11. 1888. 4.45 p.m.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS, AT ISCHL

Arrived here safely. Weather uncertain and cold. How are your eyes? I embrace you most affectionately.

Exp. Pavlosiow, 13/9. 1889. 12 noon.

F.

TO MRS. ELISABETH NICHOLSON-CHAZALIE, HÔTEL MEURICE,
PARIS

Sincerest thanks for your letter on the 23rd. Shall I write to-day again to Paris? or to (the next word has been crossed out and is undecipherable)?

Exp. 26/8. 1890. 9.45 a.m

MEGALIOTIS.

WHAT IS THE WEATHER LIKE ?

COUNTESS DE HOHENEMBS, VENICE, HÔTEL DE L'EUROPE

We had fine weather for the close of the manœuvres. I am leaving to-night for Schönbrunn. Embrace you most heartily.

HOHENEMBS.

THE EMPEROR TO H.R. AND I.H. ARCHDUCHESS MARIE
VALERIE, AT ISCHL

Best thanks for to-day's telegram. After the manœuvres are over I shall go to Schönbrunn. I embrace you most cordially.

F.

Exp. B. Sebes. 1893. 2.50 p.m.

COUNTESS DE HOHENEMBS, VENICE, HÔTEL DE L'EUROPE

I am in receipt of the Countess's letter, for which many thanks. To-day's manœuvres were successful : weather sultry—a few short showers. I am constantly thinking of you and embrace you most affectionately.

HOHENEMBS.

Exp. 18/9. 1893. 5 p.m.

L'EMPEREUR D'AUTRICHE, À SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPÉRATRICE
D'AUTRICHE, À CÔRFOU

Sincerest thanks for your dear letter of the 6th. I am well : the weather has improved, but it is cold and inclined to rain.

F.

Exp. 9/9. 1894.

THE EMPRESS'S PENSION IN THE EVENT OF WIDOW-
HOOD

We now come to a Decree whereby the Emperor trebles the provisional 100,000 gulden determined on as the pension to be settled upon her in the event of his demise. This new determination was made by the Emperor in 1875 ; the earlier

sum of 100,000 having been decided on twenty years before this date.

No. 590-875.

Presented 18th March, 1875.

Exp. . . . 21st March, 1875.

ADDRESS

Presented by the Minister of the Imperial House, 18th March, 1875.

In respect of the increase proposed by His Majesty the Emperor to the Pension provided for Her Majesty the Empress Elisabeth in the event of her widowhood ; the signed drafts being enclosed.

COUNT ANDRÁSSY is of opinion that any statement of the increase made in the Pension should be couched in the same legal form as obtains in the marriage settlement of the year 1854. That is to say—it should be subject to Your Majesty's Rights as decreed by the Law of the Family. . . . It would therefore be requisite to issue two similar documents, one to the Chief Court Marshal and the other to the Imperial Family (based on the enclosed drafts) ; the document addressed to Count Andrassy being retained at the Minister's Office, together with those relating to the Marriage Settlement, and to these should be added the Report which has been issued to the Chief Court Marshal's Office for the purpose of carrying out the decision therein made.

ad. 590. 1875.

DRAFT

in His Majesty's Writing to Count Andrassy, Minister to the Imperial House

DEAR . . . !

Since I have come to the conclusion that my beloved wife, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress and Queen, Elisabeth, cannot be considered suitably provided for by the hundred-thousand Gulden in coins of the Realm, agreed on in accordance with paragraph 8 of my Marriage Settlement, it is now my Will that in case of the above-named event, and under the conditions stated in the same document, this sum shall be

increased to the value of three-hundred-thousand Gulden, and you herewith have my Sanction to obtain the requisite evidence in regard to the execution of this Decree.

Vienna, *25th March*, 1875.

ad. 590. 1875.

DRAFT

of His Majesty's Decision in regard to the Address of the
Minister of the Imperial House

Your Address finds acceptance in the two Documents written by me this day. You are herewith placed in possession of my Autograph letter which—as already indicated—will suffice for your instructions. Any further autograph letter to My Chief Court Marshal is therefore rendered superfluous.

Vienna, *20th March*, 1875.

Fz.

A BILL FOR JEWELLERY FOR THE EMPRESS

The following concerns some mistake made in an account tendered for a Necklace composed of sapphires and diamonds, which had been the Emperor's gift to the Empress on the occasion of the birth of her first child, the Archduchess Sophie, who died in infancy. This necklace cost forty-thousand Gulden, exactly the same sum as the gift of Emeralds received by the Archduchess Stephanie on a similar occasion at a later date.

A second account is for a much smaller amount ; it has to do with the re-setting of certain gems which formed part of the Crown Jewels and which were in this case to be used for a diadem intended for the Empress.

K. Z. 55.

28th March, 1855.

REPORT

FROM THE CHIEF TREASURER, VIENNA, *25th March*,
1855. No. 527

Concerning payment of Gift made to Her Majesty the Empress on the occasion of her confinement.

Crown-Jeweller Biedermann has tendered his account to the Office of the Chief Groom-of-the-Chambers, with the request that the same may be settled. The article in question is a necklace of sapphires and diamonds presented to her Majesty at the time of her Confinement, and its cost amounts to forty-thousand Gulden.

The Chief Chamberlain wishes to inquire whether the said sum of forty-thousand Gulden is to be debited to the Extraordinary Treasury Fund for this year and liquidated on behalf of the above-named Court Jeweller?

Settlement in the Event of an Affirmative to this Request.

I decree that the sum of forty-thousand Gulden in settlement of the account as stated shall be taken from the monies set aside for this year's Extraordinary Treasury Fund, and paid to the credit of the above-named Court-Jeweller, Biedermann.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Vienna, 30th March, 1855.

No. 261. 1887.

Exp. 14th July.

REPORT OF THE CHIEF TREASURER, COUNT TRAUTMANNSDORF
10th July, 1887.

No. 335.

In respect of executing a diamond diadem for Her Majesty the Empress, and for the payment of certain extra expenses in connexion with the same. These embrace the resetting of a necklace of rose-diamonds, as well as other settings and work which have been defrayed by the Jewel-Fund.

A short time ago Her Majesty the Empress caused inquiry to be made through her Chief Court Marshal as to whether it might not be feasible to reset certain suitable objects, consisting of jewellery, and belonging to the Trust-Fund of the Imperial House, so as to construct a diamond diadem of suitable style and design, which would be in keeping with the necklace of rose-diamonds (see Treasury List, No. 35) to which there is at present no suitable diadem forthcoming. In so

doing, there would be a complete parure of diamonds available, such as there is already of diamonds and rubies.

Careful research into this matter now shows that her Majesty's wish can easily be complied with, and the enclosed list comprises all such decorations, articles of jewellery, and above-named precious stones, which, without in any way diminishing their intrinsic value, might well be drawn upon for the object in view, always provided that the directions given in the Inventory are carefully adhered to.

Count Trautmannsdorf would further observe that any such resettings would be entirely in accordance with the spirit in which such separate objects belonging to former Royal Members have been included among the Family Jewels of the Royal House. The Designs executed in accordance with the above scheme have met with Her Majesty's approval, and Count Trautmannsdorf therefore now asks permission that the sum of from 3,000–6,000 fl. approximately, may be voted from the Jewel-Fund to defray the expense of resetting the gems in question.

It is advisable that the necklace of rose-diamonds, above-mentioned, should also be reset, since—if worn in its present condition—it is to be feared some of the stones might be lost.

After a Commission had considered the work, and stated the carat-value, the Jewellery was re-included among the Royal Treasure.

The cost of resetting included a new case on which was expended the sum of 50 fl., and the total came to 3,300 fl. Count Trautmannsdorf taking upon himself to ask for a further sum of 346 fl. to defray the repair and resetting of certain other and separate objects from among their Majesties' private collections of Jewels.

DEMETÁ.

I herewith grant my permission for the payment of the above-named accounts.

Fz.

Settled on *12th July, 1887.*

SMOHUKOWSKY.

Ischl, *13th July, 1887.*

FRAU VON SCHRATT

BEFORE us lie telegrams sent by Franz Joseph to Frau von Schratt, either when that lady was staying at Ischl, or touring among the hills. Some of these contain no more than a few lines forwarded to Hietzing when he himself was on his travels. In all these messages Franz Joseph displays his habitual courtesy: "hearty," "cordial" and "sincere" are the terms we meet with again and again, but although such expressions constitute the "scaffolding," as it were, to all his polite attentions we nevertheless seem here to perceive a certain something more; for there is a touch of almost fatherly indulgence—of warmth—in these telegrams he addresses to Frau von Schratt.

They do not begin—like those other telegrams—with "the Emperor and King, to . . ."; he was unable thus openly to advertise that he was their sender—that they came from the Emperor, for—in so doing—he would have compromised Frau von Schratt. But, for this very reason, the drafts are written in his own handwriting, and signed with his name in full, not with mere initials. For the Emperor was a most painfully pedantic person! Indeed, he even went so far as to write the "Kiss" in the hyphenated name of "Kiss-Schratt" in latin characters, *Kiss* being a Hungarian patronymic; and so these letters—once the "Emperor" has been left out—are only from "Franz Joseph."

Neither did he ever make use of the familiar "du" (thou) in addressing Frau von Schratt: indeed, it is more than probable, that, in view of the strings of christian names—attached to Crowned Heads, Archdukes, and all those other persons of his own rank, to whom he was habitually accustomed to accord the accepted form of familiarity—the more distant "Sie" (you) may have come to acquire in his eyes a meaning,

warmer and more truly intimate. But let us judge by these telegrams themselves. The first is one of congratulation for some successful performance in which the lady has figured. Yet is it at all likely that the Emperor will have awaited those tidings with a beating heart? No, indeed! As likely as not he entirely forgot what this delightful lady's calling actually was—but it was enough that Frau von Schratt had achieved her ends and arrived “on top,” and she was therefore entitled to the Emperor's good wishes.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, AT SONNBLICK,
STATION RAURIS, SALZBURG

My heartiest thanks for your greeting from Sonnblick and for your letters. I congratulate you on your success and caution you to take care as to your further advancements. Kindest greetings.

MEGALLOTIS.

Exp. 5/9. 1891.

The signature it will be noticed is on this occasion “Megaliotis,” and not “Franz Joseph,” the reason being that at Salzburg, where the lady was living, this friendship was at the time not common knowledge, and so the Emperor was anxious to give no cause for gossip. And so he uses the pseudonym appended to so many telegrams interchanged with his wife, at such times when Elisabeth, the Romantic, was staying at one or other of her many idyllic resorts. And, as a matter of fact, he was perfectly at liberty to do so, for the Empress was herself devoted to Frau von Schratt and even gave her cordial blessing to this happy *liaison*. In the following message the Emperor would seem to have dispatched a letter, after which some sudden thought occurred to him, and he thereupon promptly sent this further missive:—

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, HIETZING, NEAR
VIENNA, GLORIETTE-GASSE, NO. 9

I beg that you will keep the news I told you yesterday private and to yourself. Heartiest greetings.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

After this the Emperor returns to Vienna and telegraphs the news of his arrival to the Gloriette-Gasse, intimating on what day and which hour he hopes to call.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, HIETZING, NEAR
VIENNA, GLORIETTE-GASSE, No. 9

Heartiest thanks for your letter. I shall be in Vienna this afternoon, and shall write to you to-morrow, saying when I shall be able to call.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

A PARTY OF THREE

The Empress happened to be staying at Lainz, and either felt bored or was seized with a sudden *caprice*, but the outcome of it was that she became ardently desirous of lunching together with the Emperor and Frau von Schratt. And so the Emperor dutifully wires to the Gloriette-Gasse, and the Gloriette-Gasse responds with alacrity with the result that a little luncheon-party *à trois* is arranged for the following day. And in this telegram we are able to realize the Emperor's naive pleasure at the delight he is thus able to provide for Frau von Schratt. Such were the delicate little indulgences the Empress was wont to accord her husband from time to time!

THE EMPEROR AND KING TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS, AT LAINZ,
NEAR VIENNA

Sincerest thanks for your dear letter: I telegraphed to Hietzing at once, and hope to have an answer by this evening. Shall be with you by six o'clock to-morrow morning.

Fz.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, HIETZING, NEAR
VIENNA, GLORIETTE-GASSE, No. 9

The Empress invites you to lunch with us to-morrow at three o'clock. Please telegraph at once whether you will accept or not. Heartiest thanks for your letter.

Exp. 11/6. 1894. 11.30 a.m.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

POSTE RESTANTE

Occasionally the Emperor would send his letters marked poste restante. This, however, was only when Frau von Schratt was up in the hills, and he therefore could not be certain as to where she intended staying on reaching any spot. And so we find him sending his letter poste restante to Sulden, in order that she may receive it on her arrival there. Indeed, he resorted to this same convenient method when writing to the Empress at many of her haunts—either on the Riviera or when crossing to the coast of Northern Africa.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, SULDEN HOTEL, NEAR
TRAFOI, TIROL

Sincerest thanks for yesterday's telegrams. I am glad to know of your safety. I wrote to Sulden, poste restante, on the 6th. Heartiest greetings and good wishes for yesterday's anniversary.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, ISCHL, VILLA FELICITAS

Sincerest thanks for your dear letter: I feel quieted, but was unfortunately unable to write. When are you coming to Hietzing? I hope to see you again soon, and send a thousand affectionate greetings both from me and from the Empress, who is at Corfu.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, SULDEN HOTEL, NEAR
TRAFOI, TIROL

Please let me know by telegram when you are back from the Ortler. Affectionate greetings.

Exp. 11th September, 1894.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, HIETZING, NEAR
VIENNA, GLORIETTE-GASSE, No. 9

Hearty thanks for your letter. I am well, and have written to-day.

Exp. 6/6. 1894. 8.15 a.m.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

FRANZ JOSEPH

FRAU KATHARINA VON KISS-SCHRATT, HIETZING, NEAR
VIENNA, GLORIETTE-GASSE, No. 9

Sincerest thanks for yesterday's letter: how are you to-day? I feel anxious. Affectionate greetings.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Exp. 14/10. 1893.

As to that Luncheon party at Lainz—it will probably not have been the only one of its kind, for after the official introduction had once taken place the Empress when returning from her travels never omitted to send messages of kindly greeting to Frau Katharina von Schratt.

THE ROYAL HUNTERS

WE have said everything there is to say concerning Franz Joseph's earthly career when we characterize his as having been a Habsburg Sovereign and a Mighty Hunter. For all the time he did not expend in the government of his two realms—Austria and Hungary—was devoted to the chase. This was more especially the case when he began to age—which indeed, he did early; in those years when he became increasingly rigid and dry and more than ever like an automaton. He might then be found at 5 a.m. “functioning” at his desk—i.e. going through the business of “reigning”—a duty only to be interrupted by such visits and journeys as might happen to be necessary. But through all these years—in the autumn, that is about September and October, Franz Joseph was in the habit of departing with clock-like regularity for Ischl, in order to indulge in a month's hunting. Now and then he would relax for a few days at a time and depart for Gödöllő, or Mürzsteg, and pay a visit to his stags there. But his happiest times were ever at Ischl, and if for some reason or other—and it would have to be a very important one indeed—this habitual sojourn had to be foregone, the year was as good as lost to him.

Every one is familiar with the portrait of the Emperor in his leather breeches, bare-kneed and with hob-nailed boots; with a green Hunter's Jerkin, and the Tirolese hat with its “Gamsbart.” From childhood up he had seldom worn any other kind of civilian-dress—for even indoors he was in the habit of donning a shabby old regimental tunic. This Styrian style of dress—his “*dépouilles styriennes*,” as he was wont to call it, with a touch of his earlier humour, was the garb sacred to his holiday-time. Thus attired he stalked the wooded hills about Ischl, passing the night at the hunting shelters,

after the long exertions of walking and climbing—and jubilant that his wiry frame had regained its elasticity and so enabled him to endure a hunter's arduous adventures with ease.

Franz Joseph, the Hunter, had three good Sporting Comrades. First of all came his true and intimate friend, Albert of Saxony; the one person who stood nearest to his heart and whose correspondence provided Franz Joseph with the principal material for his sporting chronicle. The next in degree was good old Nando, Ferdinand IV and exiled Duke of Tuscany; the father of Louise Toselli, and Leopold Wölfling. Nando remained an Italian to the end of his days: he spoke German with a foreign accent and was ever secretly hoping that he might some day return to Florence—a re-installed Sovereign. He either did not perceive the great changes which had come over the world since 1860, or he regarded them as merely temporary, and felt firmly convinced that he—or at all events, his son—the “Hereditary Grand Duke,” and later “Leopold Wölfling”—who began his career in the Austrian Navy, would one fine day enter the harbour of Livorno in triumph, at the head of a fleet of Austrian men-of-war. Nando was in fact the most obdurate—the most intransigent of Conservatives. He lived entirely in days which were past and gone; but apart from this particular attitude towards life—which he shared with many another, including the Emperor—Nando was a jovial, portly gentleman, for whom every one had a liking. His pretensions were never taken very seriously—even by Franz Joseph, in whose opinion the primary fact of being an Archduke was in itself a great and serious responsibility, and a duty to be lived up to. Nando, however, was a careless, amiable and always good-humoured old gentleman—and may be said to have filled the position of “Jester” to this illustrious company. The third whose name we repeatedly find mentioned in the Emperor's letters was “Gaeckel.” His full name and style was Karl Theodore, Duke of Bavaria, and he was a brother-in-law of the Emperor's, having married a younger sister of the Empress Elisabeth. The duke was an oculist, and his practice often hindered him in later years from participating in these hunting expeditions—much to the Emperor's chagrin. In the “seventies” and

"eighties" we begin to meet him less frequently at Ischl, and finally he gave up going altogether.

But a crowd of other guests were also invited to attend these hunting parties: there was for instance the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, another brother-in-law of the Emperor's; and also Prince Wasa—the brother-in-law of Albert of Saxony. This sportsman was however a notoriously bad shot, who only hit a partridge or a stag by some extraordinarily lucky chance! Another participant was Crown Prince Rudolph, though he really preferred shooting in Hungary, among the Görgény Alps where he had leased an estate, or stalking chamoix among the Carpathians. And lastly there was the company of gentlemen, forming the retinue of these Royalties, but they generally shot and stalked in separate parties and distinct from the Emperor's set. Indeed, not more than the few mentioned were in the habit of accompanying the Emperor—and even they were sometimes unable to keep up with him, and would then leave him to his own devices. Wölfling in his "*Mémoires*" tells a story of how on one of these occasions, the Emperor, the King of Saxony (Albert), and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, having been stalking without any of the others, stopped a peasant with his cart out on the high road and mounting it bade the man drive them back to Ischl. On alighting the Emperor jocularly said, "Do you know whom you have been driving? I am the Emperor of Austria." "And I am the King of Saxony," remarked the other fare. . . . "And I the Grand Duke of Tuscany," quoth the third. . . . "*And I am the Emperor of China!*" added the peasant, not a little piqued at feeling that they were pulling his leg. Possibly he might have been less incredulous had these great gentlemen tipped him for his trouble, but, as is the custom with all people of his rank, the Emperor never gave gratuities.

At Ischl the entire neighbourhood was kept as one great preserve and was carefully tended by a numerous company of gamekeepers and foresters. Whenever the Emperor hunted it was their duty to beat the woods so that the game came within shot of the royal sportsmen, but this was on no account to be done noticeably . . . indeed the Emperor never gave the least sign of being aware that he was surrounded by people

ever busy occupied in serving him—he ignored the fact that work was being done, nor did it seem to occur to him that work demanded wages, and that on these the worker had to live!

The gigantic staff employed on the preserves at Ischl laboured in accordance with a statute of the Chase of a century earlier, and which only with some difficulty and after many delays had at length been adapted to the exigencies of the present day. The *personnel* were paid wretchedly inadequate wages, were subjected to the strictest discipline, and received neither gifts nor gratuities. And yet these billets were greatly coveted, and there were whole families who for generations had spent their lives in ministering to the pleasures of the Habsburgers, as they hunted among the forests of Ischl, for a "Court appointment" was deemed a safe job, and a certain livelihood.

From time to time other royal personages would signify their intention of coming to Ischl for the sake of sport, the most frequent of these being William II, and the Prince of Wales. Such announcements were however never very much to the Emperor's liking, and he would on such occasions write to his friend Albert, commenting in anything but flattering terms upon his unwelcome guests. For he was obliged to have them in his immediate vicinity and this in itself disturbed him, so that their coming robbed his holidays of all their greatest pleasure. Franz Joseph's letters on the subject of his favourite pastime prove him—in the opinion of many experts—to have been thoroughly versed in all that had to do with hunting. He often seems—as is the case with born hunters—to understand the psychological aspects of his quarry, and in this sense he has some stirring adventures to recount. There is, for instance, his story of the pheasant he had sighted amid a herd of grazing cows and brought down to the accompaniment of tinkling cow-bells, and another about the chamois, which he brought down from its rocky peak, while he himself took aim from his seat in a boat. Like all the Emperor's notes these letters on this favourite subject are systematic and exhaustive compositions, and testify to his pride of achievement.

His letters to Albert all deal with two subjects: hunting and manœuvres—or, possibly some other military matter. Occasionally a third subject was introduced—that of foreign politics, but as time went on the themes varied less and less, and the letters contained no more than the most necessary news as to the chase.

It is probable that in his younger days and when among intimates the Emperor may have been of a more genial nature. Letters dating from those times breathe a certain cheerfulness, and reveal a frank and natural sense of humour, which however at times bordered on coarseness. But this type of humour was soon to vanish, and the dry, sombre, joyless man, into which the last thirty years had transformed the Emperor, had seldom a friendly word to say, and seemed, indeed, to have completely lost the cheeriness of his earlier days. Even his sporting letters of this time have come to be dry commentaries on the number of shots registered; they are mere conscientious reports about who was shooting and what was shot—nothing more: they might almost pass as official documents. Gradually too he ceased to make use of the formal and courtly phrase—"I lay myself at the feet of your wife" . . . *à façon de parler* acquired in his early childhood, and sent mere ordinary and *bourgeois* greetings to his friend's consort. Possibly he never noticed that even he had begun to advance with the times.

A TRIP—*INCOGNITO*

SCHÖNBRUNN, 17th June, 1853.

DEAR ALBERT!

By the time you read these lines you will be married, and interested in very different matters from pheasants. I should therefore have chosen a more opportune moment for my letter as well as for the dispatch of the stuffed bird; the list of all the game that has and has not been shot—to say nothing of your shooting kit—or "*dépouilles styriennes*." And here I must tender my apologies for not having sent your clothes before, and for not having answered your kind but disconcerting letter at once. But I forgot all about the former in worrying

over certain "potentates"—and then when I intended sending them, our genial Kundrat persuaded me to wait and also dispatch the bird which has now been stuffed. Indeed, it was difficult to find a moment for letter-writing, what with the "potentates," and the time lost, as well as the accumulation of work caused by their presence. The fact that you should not have returned has been the cause of universal despair; besides which, you too have missed something in not seeing the Caroussel on the Parade-ground, or being present at the ball at the *Glashaus*. The former was really very well done and the riding excellent; twenty thousand men were paraded and all went off well. We had very fine weather for the ball and all the ladies were charming. The Prussians were very reserved, and bestowed as little praise as possible on what they saw, although I think that a good deal of it pleased them—especially the horsemanship at the Caroussel. By the shooting list you will see that during the course of the morning after we parted I shot six woodcocks.

I drove over the Semmering, as far as Tonibauer, arriving there before midnight, and there—in the same wood where Kellner (F. M. L. Kellner) had earlier in the day shot a cock—I secured three. The first got away, but was found later. Kellner had gone on from Spital straight to Schabb—and had shot another cock there. Toni provides splendid opportunities—almost better than Schabb. On the 13th of May I drove over to Reichenau and ascended the Feuchta, and there, after aiming twice brought down the woodcock whose life you had so generously spared. Then, by the light of the moon, I followed that rather bad road leading up to the Gans, and there I found Kellner. After about two hours' rest I climbed the Aibl, where I missed a blackcock.

On the 28th I was on the Falkenstein, where I shot two woodcock, the first of them before 2.30 a.m. He dropped from a tree, and as I went after him—he went off *on foot*! nor could we find him again, in spite of much searching. The second I brought down in the midst of a herd of cows, whose bells were sounding all the time, though this did not seem to disturb him in the least.

On the 30th we came down from the Lachalp, where we had

been caught in a storm, with attendant lightning, hail, etc., and then at once started out upon a little trip which was kept strictly *incognito*. We went by way of Mürzsteg to Brandhof, and from there over Maria Zell to Neuhaus, where we spent the night at a wretched little Inn. Then, on the 1st June, we drove to the *Lunzer See*, which is really magnificent, and then by way of Gamming and Scheibs, to Kimmelbach, which lies on the high road to Upper Austria, and continued our journey the same night from St. Pölten to Vienna, arriving at 12.30 p.m. So you see that we still managed to have a very successful time and would have been able to provide you with plenty of entertainment. Besides which, I have missed you at every turn, and you were ever in my thoughts while shooting and during our amusing little trip.

The shooting-list will show you that next year has been provided for. I shall count on your presence then, as well as for the shoots at Ischl, which I trust will be good. But I have bored you sufficiently for to-day. Lay me at the feet of your wife—who by this time probably hardly remembers me . . . and also at those of their Majesties your parents. Many kind messages to George.

Your faithful cousin and friend,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

SCHÖNBRUNN, 12th October, 1854.

DEAR ALBERT !

Your letter received yesterday gave me particular pleasure, and I immediately complied with your wish by commissioning Pfusterschmied to place himself entirely at your service. As for the petitioner on whose behalf you ask my favour, I must first inquire into the circumstances and see what can be done. Your inquiry as to the chamoix shall be answered explicitly and in detail : up to the time you left Ischl I had shot twenty-seven ! but I too left that day and did not return till the 11th. Then on the following day I went up to the Spitzalp alone, making my way to the Höllengebirge, above the road which leads to Ebensee, and towards evening the beaters sent a stag my way—just near the huts : however he was at some distance from me, in the Krummholz, so that I no more than grazed

him. So far they have found traces of his sweat—but no stag, so he would seem to have made good his escape. Toward evening Gaeckel and Taxis made their way up there too, and we spent the night on the Alp. The next morning we had two drives in the high woods—all through the Krummholz, where we saw plenty of game. There were three stags, of which I got one, but owing to the enormous distance I think I must have missed the other, Gaeckel doing so too, though at closer quarters, while Taxis got the third, and a very fine one too. I perceive that I am falling into King Ludwig's style of writing, so pray excuse me, "dear cousin!" In the second drive we got nothing at all, so Gaeckel and Taxis went home while I scaled the heights of the Höllengebirge where I stalked and shot a splendid and entirely black chamoix goat. The climb was a stiff business, especially in the great heat, but the view of the glaciers was magnificent. On the afternoon of the thirteenth we, that is, Gaeckel, Taxis and I, climbed an alp above the Hohen Schrott, towards Ebensee, and spent the night there. Then on the following morning we had two drives; on the first I got three stags in three shots, but nothing more was brought down. We had intended going on another chamoix-drive, but bad weather set in and we had to hasten home. Early on the 17th, I drove by way of Salzburg to Berchtesgaden where King Max had been kind enough to arrange a very tame chamoix hunt for me. We were only half an hour getting up to our stands from the Königsee. Unfortunately there was an adverse wind. I shot two chamoix hinds and a big goat, though the latter could not be found. The total brought down came to seven chamoix and three young stags.

After the hunt was over I went on a boating excursion on the Obersee with the King, and while thus engaged I sighted a chamoix on the precipitous rocks, so we immediately rowed back to get my gun and I was lucky enough to secure the animal after several shots, of which three were hits, and it fell from those dizzy heights into the lake below—a splendid sight!

I expect that you are doing more soldiering than I am; for here we indulge in no more than drill, and have had no

manœuvres, but to-morrow there is to be a Parade in honour of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, who is staying here. Should politics permit, I count on seeing you here again for the grouse and chamoix. Until such time, farewell! and give an occasional thought to your much-worried cousin and friend. My wife, who was greatly touched at your remembrance of her, sends you heartiest greetings.

Lay me at the feet of your consort!

FRANZ.

"IN MILITARIBUS, IN POLITICIS" . . .

LAXENBURG, 18th August, 1855.

DEAR ALBERT!

As promised, I herewith dutifully let you know that I am leaving on 2nd September, and am going in the first place to Brandhof, to uncle John's, for the shooting, remaining there until the fifth, when I shall meet my wife at Bruck-on-the-Mur, from whence we shall drive to Ischl together, doing the journey by way of Aussee, and arriving on the 7th. I entreat you once more and most earnestly to join us there with your wife, for a fortnight at all events. The shooting will I trust be good, and no visits from Royalties are expected, such as spoilt our pleasure as hunters last year. Do let me know soon, if and when you can come, so that I may reserve the shoots for you and arrange my stay at Ischl to suit your convenience. Should nothing unforeseen occur we intend remaining at Ischl until October, during which time I shall only take a few trips to Vienna on business, going possibly also to Trieste, when Max returns there with his fleet. As far as military matters are concerned, we shall have a perfectly peaceful autumn. The troops are only to be exercised without being formed into brigades—no more than a few divisions and a few cavalry regiments. They have to rest after their marches and get used to peace-time conditions. Only the Serbian Banat Army corps, stationed in the Principalities, are to be exercised in cantonments and camps. I cannot tell you how delighted I was with the troops in Galicia, and with the fine condition they were in. Without bragging I can

assure you that I have never seen finer troops, and I was amazed at the enormous improvement that had been made—particularly in the case of the Cavalry. I have seen many good and excellent regiments—not one weaker than the rest and up to a standard of equality such as we have never known here. The strength of the Cavalry was such as even the oldest officers present had never beheld. Few of the lighter regiments had less than eighty men to the squadron. Our reservists too were fine and in good condition. They have all left now, and in their stead we have a new Reserve of 80,000 men at home.

Forgive me for not having sent you any accounts of my shoots. But the pressure of business has been great, and afterwards I had to set out on my travels.

Forty-one woodcock have been shot on my preserves, of which twenty-five fell to my gun. Generally two, and once even three on the same morning, and once two in one evening. Not long ago I was up in the hills after the chamoix, and secured one on the Schneeberg and five goats on Neuberg. There is at the moment a complete calm in politics—which is all to the good. It may sound inhuman, but the longer they go on killing each other in the Crimea, the more we may count on having peace, and that is what to my mind every one most needs. We have secured what we were aiming at and it must now be our business to keep it. Indeed, I feel sure that in the end every one will be thankful to make peace on the same basis that we have done. I must come to a close now for I have already bored you too long. Be sure that you come to Ischl, for in so doing you will give me the greatest conceivable pleasure.

Sisi sends kindest remembrances, and I remain,

Your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Lay me at the feet of your wife.

VIENNA, 4th April, 1856.

DEAR ALBERT!

Your kind business-letter of the 27th March duly reached me, and I at once took steps to meet your wishes in as far

as this was possible. An urgent telegram has been sent to Berlin and our Embassy is to put the case strongly. Whether this will have any effect remains to be seen. For though the Ministry of Commerce regards us with some degree of favour, I doubt whether the Governing Powers in Berlin are inclined to bestow any more affection upon us than on you. It may be, however, that the Peace recently arrived at will have affected them favourably. The results achieved in this case have been excellent and I have every reason to be satisfied with the stipulations. But the "goings-on" in poor Berlin!!! That however is *their* affair, so long as it does not spread.

But enough of politics—*parlons bécasse*! (snipe) for of these we have a splendid supply: not first-rate bags, but hesitation about the cold weather and the drought seem to have driven them together. They have been about the hills since Easter-Monday, and we had a couple of little shooting excursions at Papa's place at Hütteldorf. On Easter Monday we shot eight—all in an hour-and-a-half's time, while on the second expedition we came on fifty, but the shooting was wretched (excepting mine, I would beg you to understand) so that no more than thirteen were killed.

Last Sunday they were about the plains, and we had three hours and a half's shooting at Aspern. We were thirteen crack shots and we accounted for fifty-two snipe—splendid. On Tuesday we were again near Aspern, at Lobau; a party of fourteen guns, and we secured forty-five snipe. On this occasion a most rare thing in the annals of the hunting-field took place! Your father-in-law brought down a snipe, he having been the only one to return empty-handed on the previous Monday. Yesterday we shot near Mühlleiten—where you were with us last year in the rain—but we only got twenty-seven birds. They are already decreasing in numbers, now that the weather is getting warm. I have shot thirty-six snipe altogether. You can imagine how I have regretted your not being here. The woodcocks are about, but not yet strong on the wing, and owing to the frozen condition of the snow it is difficult to get at them. As I am busy, I shall therefore not trouble to go out after them, as it would be a

mere waste of time. I have promised your father-in-law to take him with me when the season is at its height, and he was so delighted that I could not help being amused. I am curious to know what he will think of our murderous excursion, and whether he will lecture me. Possibly he may come by some easy-going and confiding bird for instance—at Stögerhalt! We intend doing very little in the military line: no more than a considerable amount of drill. The Infantry Brigades stationed here are to succeed one another at the Camp in the Mittelgebirge from the 1st May, probably until the 1st October. They are to practise Field-service; and during the last half of September the four Cavalry regiments also stationed here and in the neighbourhood are to go through their exercises on the Marchfeld.

I count on seeing you at Ischl when we start chamoix-hunting, though I shall not be able to get there before the 4th October, owing to these exercises, so that we shall probably arrive about the same time. With these sweet anticipatory hopes I will bring my present chatter to a close!

I remain your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Lay me at the feet of your wife.

“AN ANGEL IN HEAVEN”

LAXENBURG, *22nd August*, 1857.

DEAR ALBERT!

I owe you answers to two dear letters, so must begin this one with any amount of apologies, and at the same time give you some account of my many occupations—yet without omitting to mention my intense laziness. But still all these excuses can hardly serve to white-wash me and, therefore, counting on your never-failing kindness, I penitently await Absolution.

First and foremost I must thank you most sincerely for your kind and consoling sympathy in regard to what has been the hardest blow I have yet sustained in life. Our poor little

one ¹ was a little angel—so remarkably intelligent, that we were already looking forward to the time when she would be a great comfort to us. But now she is an Angel in Heaven—where she will pray for us! Of all the letters of condolence that have reached us, yours was the only one that gave me true pleasure, for I knew that it came from your heart—so therefore, once more, my warmest thanks.

As I am looking forward to your being with me at Ischl, we must begin to arrange our plans. We are confidently hoping to see both you and Carola, and Sisi, who is much attached to your wife, is delighted at the prospect. When will you come? We count on arriving at Ischl on the 1st, or 2nd of October, and by that time, I take it, your Grand Manœuvres will be over; so do not on any account be too late for the rutting season—which, after all, is the greatest fun. Besides, I want you to stay as long as you possibly can, for then we can begin with the stags and leave the chamoix to the close of the season—at which time they are always finer and more like bears. My brothers-in-law are coming, so that we may look forward to a very congenial time together. I have had some delightful hunting-shelters put up right in among the stags where we can spend the nights listening to their impressive roaring. A few weeks ago I was at Ischl with Sisi for two days, and during that time shot one stag and six chamoix. In addition to these, Grünne brought down one stag; Kellner two chamoix goats; Waldstätten three goats and one doe; and Waldstein one goat; this was no more than a small drive, for I am reserving the best of everything until October. The quantity of game about—especially of chamoix—is really remarkable, and all we need is a fine October. To-morrow I am leaving for Hungary,² a very boring journey, from which I hope to return on the 5th of September, and on the 15th, we shall begin our exercising at Parendorf with fourteen regiments of Cavalry.

¹ His first child, Sophie, who died in infancy.

² Part of the great circular tour which, like the earlier one to Italy, was undertaken at Bach's instigation. This was to have had the effect of pacifying the revolutionary countries, and had been interrupted by the death of the Archduchess Sophie.—*Editor*.

I look forward to seeing you very soon and wish you "Huntsman's luck." Pray lay me at the feet of your wife.

Your faithful,
Sisi sends greetings to you and to Carola. FRANZ.

SCHÖNBRUNN, 21st October, 1860.

DEAR ALBERT!

Forgive me for not having been able to invite you to Ischl during the course of this month. But my time has been much taken up; indeed, I may say that I have been simply overwhelmed with affairs of every kind, so that it has been quite impossible even to think of a visit to Ischl. I have now disposed of the principal business, and the pick-pockets and land-grabbers in Italy are for the present busy in the South, prior to honouring us with their renewed attentions. Therefore, after my return from Warsaw, I look forward to restoring my somewhat worn-out frame with a few days' hunting in the fresh mountain air. It will be cold, but if there is not too much snow on the ground, we should be able to count on good sport. The mountain game, which we are going to massacre, regardless of sex—will then be all close together, deep down in the forest—and should be fine and black. I shall be only too delighted if you will come—and should you be able to come *here* first, we might drive to Ischl together during the night and remain about eight days. The *terrain* I think of shooting over is Krapfenkaar; Gimbach; Gschier Spitzalpe; and—perhaps, Traunstein, besides making some smaller drives after the red deer. I shall invite Taxis and Gaeckel. But whether the latter can tear himself away from the arms of his beloved, and brave a chill November remains to be seen. Be kind enough to send me a telegram, addressing it to Warsaw—whither I depart at 7 p.m., letting me know if you can come, and I will then send you the date of my departure for Ischl in due course. I rather think it will be between the 28th of this month and the 2nd of November. I count on seeing you very soon. Please lay me at the feet of your wife, and believe me ever,

Your faithful cousin,
Sisi sends greetings to you and to Carola. FRANZ.

THE BEGINNING OF OLD AGE!

DEAR ALBERT!

With many regrets I herewith send you the shooting-lists reporting the results of our yesterday's activities in the Gödinger woods. If I had had any idea that this shoot was to be so much more successful than the one at Ratiskovicer, you might have been able to stay for it! It was truly magnificent. Owing to the weather being slightly colder, the hares had taken cover in the woods which were already swarming with roe deer—as you may conjecture by the fact that among those we brought down only four were does—three being got at the first round up; one killed itself without a shot having been fired—another was shot intentionally by F. M. L. Horwáth, as he thought she was making for him, and a third was given its quietus by me, as she seemed to me to be looking sick; she had been hit already, though I do not know by whom. In the second round up only one doe was brought down—and it is uncertain who shot it. There was also a great quantity of mountain game. At the very start as many as eight broke through the thickets, and later on Leopold aimed at a stag that sprang back again. Then came an animal close to the net at which Leopold, Carl Ferdinand, Rainer and I all fired until it collapsed with a shot from the latter. Immediately after this a doe appeared with her kid, and I sent the former rolling with a well-placed shot in the neck, and then aimed at the youngster, but it escaped me—though not unscathed—to be grazed again by F. Z. L. Wimpfen. On the whole, however, I did not have much luck when compared with the others; this was in the first place owing to the wind, and also because Papa would keep close to my side, and his extraordinary shooting prevented me from hitting almost anything. And so it came to pass that Trautmannsdorf alone shot 132 hares and five stags: the Head Huntsman 124 hares—while I, in spite of not bad shooting, only secured sixty-one hares, besides a fair number of pheasants and partridges.

I only got one stag, but wounded another pretty badly—and it was finally dispatched by Carl Ferdinand, who kept it.

Your father-in-law both to his and to our great surprise actually managed to shoot a stag. But I am getting to the end of my writing-paper, so must close, begging you to lay me at the feet of your wife,

Your ever faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

DEAR ALBERT !

I was delighted to get your kind letter and to have tidings of you again—etc., etc. I ought really to be on my way to Dalmatia—such having been my intention, but the Polish business, with its attendant diplomatic consequences, has kept me here—etc., etc. . . .

Begging you to lay me at the feet of your wife, and with most affectionate greetings to both of you from Sisi, as well as in the hope that—should HE of Paris permit us to rest—we may yet meet at Ischl in the autumn.

I remain your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

Schönbrunn, 16th April, 1863.

ISCHL, 21st August, 1892.

DEAR ALBERT !

I have just received your letter and hasten to reply. I shall arrive on the 5th, at about 10 a.m., and leave again on the 6th, at 2 p.m., as I have to be in Berlin by six in the evening. I had hoped to get away again by the evening of the 10th, but as the 11th is the Name-day of the Emperor Alexander, I cannot leave before the evening of that day—so that I shall have to miss the first day of our Manœuvres at Vienna. While at Dresden we can talk over the question of the autumn shoots together, for, in consequence of the Delegations at Pest, I am unable to fix any date to-day. But I trust it may be possible for me to devote a few days to the chamoix in the course of October. The stag-rutting at Gödöllő will also be at your disposal. Many thanks for your good wishes on the occasion of my birthday—no longer a day for rejoicing in one's incipient old-age.

Hoping to see you very soon,

Your faithful cousin,

FRANZ.

THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND OTHER GUESTS

VIENNA, *26th October*, 1888.

DEAREST ALBERT !

At length I am able to send you the list of our shoots. Putting it together was rather an arduous affair on this occasion. There was not so much to be had this time, which may have been owing to the snow, and also the rainy weather. At the Schwarzenbach hunt Nando and I each accounted for a doe, as I think you may already have heard, and one chamoix doe fell to Lt. Colonel von Müller, to whom the horns have been sent. In the Lahngraben a doe is said to have been shot by F. M. L. Beck, and a buck which was brought in is supposed to have fallen to Lt. Colonel Freund ; while at Kaltenbach a chamoix buck was found which I had hit, and one with six-branched antlers which Leopold—having had two shots at, believed he had missed, was dispatched near the Forester's House several days later, it having turned up there in rather a bad condition.

On the 15th we had a drive at the Karlsgraben in honour of the Prince of Wales. The weather was fine, but it was too windy. We were seven and accounted for thirty-two chamoix. Five fine bucks fell to Wales, and twelve to Rudolph. The stands on the left wing were not all occupied, being merely protected. Wales was so delighted that there seems to be some danger of his wishing to repeat his experiences. I had wanted to hunt at Zaindlwänden, but the evening before the day on which we had decided there was a heavy fall of snow which drifted—so we were obliged to put it off. The weather now is splendid ; the mornings very cold, while the middle of the day is sunny and fairly warm, but unfortunately, I have had no time to devote to the hills. Next Monday I intend going to Gödöllö ; Valérie is going on there from Ischl, and will remain till the beginning of December, when she and Sisi will take up their winter quarters in Vienna.

Not long ago Henry of Prussia stayed with us on a two days' visit. I was pleased to make his acquaintance, and liked him very much.

Carola must have been very grieved to hear of the death

of poor aunt Hamilton ; give her my kind sympathy, as well as affectionate greetings.

In old and truest friendship,

Your most sincere cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER FREIHERR VON HAYMERLE, IN
VIENNA

(Cipher)

Should there be any inquiries in respect to a visit from the King of Italy, will you be so good as to draw attention to the fact that I have invited the King of Saxony to join me for the shooting in the mountains, and that therefore the Italian visit would by no means suit my plans before the 15th of October.

F.

Exp. 17/9. 1881. 3.15 p.m.

BRUCK-AN-DER-LEITHA.

24th August, 1884.

DEAREST ALBERT !

I wonder if it would suit you if our this year's shooting in the hills were to begin on the 12th of October ? Unfortunately I am unable to get away any earlier, as I have to open the Hungarian *Landtag* at the end of September. On the afternoon of 30th September we leave Schönbrunn for Mürzsteg, and are going to shoot there till the 4th of October, inclusive of that day, going on to Eisenerz for three or four days' shooting there. I hope that—although so late in the season—we shall not have snow or rain, so that it may be possible to arrange for chamoix-hunting on a big scale. William of Prussia and Leopold are coming : whether Nando can manage to get here will depend upon his father's friends—whom he is again expecting.

Rudolph will be busy thinning out his bears in Siebenbürgen ; so he will not be able to accompany us. I arrived here yesterday, so as to be present at the manœuvres of the Second Army Corps, etc., etc.

Please give my kindest greetings to Carola, and in joyful anticipation of seeing you again very soon,

I remain your faithful cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE EMPEROR AND KING, TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES,
AT KESZTHELY

The stag with the fourteen-branched antlers which was hit by you yesterday has been found.

F.

Exp. 17/9. 1.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.R.H. ARCHDUCHESS MARIE VALÉRIE,
AT OFFENSEE, STATION EBENSEE

Sincerest thanks for your telegram: I am delighted to hear that you have become a Huntress! The weather here is very fine, and we had a very warm welcome. I embrace you affectionately.

F.

Exp. 3/10. 1890. 5.45 p.m.

Larisini (Cabinet Secretary).

THE EMPEROR ATTENDS TO EVERYTHING

WHATEVER the temporary misfortune that had occurred—Famine or Cholera, Conflagration or Inundation—the Emperor was sure to demand particulars as to provisions that were being taken to meet the case; and he would inquire also whether it would be well for him to send a personal contribution.

In most cases he would give orders for a subscription to be forwarded out of his own private purse. Moreover, he never omitted to look through the newspapers, as well as to study the diplomatic reports so as to see whether a mishap had taken place anywhere. Indeed, it seemed almost as though he had regarded it as one of his foremost duties as a Sovereign to take an active interest in any calamity of this nature and the following drafts of telegrams coming under this heading are all in his own handwriting:—

THE EMPEROR TO HIS EXCELLENCY, PRIME MINISTER,
COUNT TAAFFE, IN VIENNA

(Cipher)

I forgot to ask you yesterday to do your utmost for the sufferers in Tirol and in Kärnten; also to let me know the extent of the inundations and what damage has been done

Exp. Gödöllő, 20/9. 1889. 12.40 p.m. F.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER, COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA

(Cipher)

Is any assistance necessary for those who are suffering from the Danube inundations? And, if so, how much?

5/I. 1883. 1.45 p.m. F.

EMPEROR ATTENDS TO EVERYTHING 231

THE EMPEROR TO THE COUNCILLOR OF STATE, FREIHERR VON
BRAUN, IN VIENNA

Please be so good as to telegraph five thousand florins from my private purse to the local Government at Sarajevo for the benefit of those suffering from the floods in Bosnia.

F.

Exp. 3/11. 9.45 a.m.

The fire at the Ring-Theatre engaged the Emperor's attention to a very great extent, as we have already had occasion to notice, and he insisted on the Director, who was immediately responsible for the disaster, being punished. But his first concern was for the employées, who had been deprived of the means of getting their daily bread, as well as for the injured, and he was most anxious to know whether any of these might stand in need of his assistance. He took the initiative in the same manner three years later, on the occasion of the fire at the Vienna State-Theatre.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER, COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA

(Cipher)

I shall arrive in Vienna on the morning of the day after tomorrow, and beg that you will let me have a detailed account concerning the conflagration at the Ring-Theatre, together with the reports of the police and judicial inquiries, and giving the date of when these are likely to be brought to a close. It seems to me that a speedy termination as to the inquiry, and a resort to active measures based upon it, is most desirable so as to bring some reassurance to the mind of the Public. I should like to consult you as to whether—in view of the extent of this calamity—it might not be well for me to contribute another and larger sum from my private purse and also whether this should be given in the same manner as the first, or whether it might not be better to devote it to some special purpose?

F.

Exp. 16/12. 1881. 12 noon.

FRANZ JOSEPH

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER, COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA

(Cipher)

Should any appeal be issued for those who have lost their means of livelihood, as well as for the injured, please let me know at once.

F.

Exp. Bpest. 17/5. 1884. 3.5 p.m. (Answer inclosed.)

The Emperor even went so far as to take a personal interest in the concerns of any Banks that had got into financial trouble.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER, COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA

(Cipher)

Does the Government intend giving any assistance to the Bohemian *Boden-Credit* Company, or not?

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 12/12. 1884. 6.45 p.m.

The extent to which he concerned himself with the very smallest details of government may be gathered from the two following telegrams. He had read in the papers that Cholera was raging on the Russian frontier. But on inquiring at the Foreign Office he was informed that the accounts in the dailies were based largely on fiction, and that the Ambassador at St. Petersburg knew nothing whatever of any such ravages. Upon this the Emperor took steps at once to have the rumours officially contradicted.

THE EMPEROR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS IN VIENNA

(Cipher)

In view of the alarming accounts from Odessa as to the cholera, has the Foreign Office issued orders for the requisite precautions to be taken?

F.

Exp. 20/7. 1892. 4.50 p.m.

EMPEROR ATTENDS TO EVERYTHING 233

THE EMPEROR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS IN VIENNA

(Cipher)

It now appears from reports sent by our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, that there is not a word of truth in the newspaper accounts in respect of cholera on the frontier. Any such reports can therefore be contradicted.

THE EMPEROR SENDS HIS CONGRATULATIONS

THERE was indeed every reason for the Emperor to be up by five o'clock every morning—for he had much to do. With his own hand he was wont to write all the drafts for his messages of congratulation, as well as the replies to those received, besides those for all his telegraphic condolences. More important events were notified to him by the Cabinet Council. In the latter case the telegrams were not always drafted by the Emperor himself, but they were nevertheless submitted to him for such corrections as he might see fit to make. And what a wealth of delicate *nuances* is contained in these telegrams! How rich in every shade of expression—in every degree of tone are these scraps of Franz Joseph's script! For here was a Past-Master in the art of tact—and one who revealed a skill—as instinctive as it was consummate—in the composition of these!

It may be that he had not found, or could not trust, anyone to carry out this delicate task to his own complete personal satisfaction: none who was equally versed in all the subtle delicacies of language: or maybe it was that he felt himself to be an artist in this particular line of work, and so bestowed on it both time and infinite care, to the end that the thing achieved might be worthy of the master. Or was it—and this seems perhaps the most likely explanation of all—that he really took such matters to be of supreme importance, and thought the end of all things probable should an Archduke go short of the obligatory congratulations for his Name-day or should the reciprocal good wishes for the New Year forwarded to the Hungarian Minister be couched in terms such as might only properly be addressed to the Court Physician? And, if so, who shall say that he was not right? For all these

things helped in preserving the Sacred Halo of Sovereignty so vitally necessary to him—a Halo in the retention of which he again showed a Master's Art. For indeed he brought the most incredible amount of care to bear upon all such matters. Should a Member of his Household, or any of their relations be ill, the invalid was at once cheered by the Emperor's kind inquiries; and the frequency of, as also the precise degree of warmth, contained in these messages was ever commensurate to that particular person's rank at Court. For these matters were carried out according to certain strict rules known probably to the Emperor alone, but for this reason all the more fundamental and infallible.

Another curious trait of the Emperor's was that he must daily have perused the Calendar of Saints, so as not to miss any duly appointed Patron, for wherever he might be, shooting in the hills, or on his travels, he never missed the Name-days of his various relations and acquaintances, so that every Augusta, and every Leopold and so on, was sure to receive his or her message of congratulation. Archduke, Minister, Emperor, King: his wife and his children—all were the recipients of suitable telegrams—whether to commemorate their Name-day, the day of their birth or of their death—and the drafts of these many, many telegrams of condolence seem now like so many dead leaves about the trunk of Franz Joseph's Tree of Life, since it was reserved to him to out-live all their recipients. From this inexhaustible stock of congratulations, messages of thanks and of condolence, we will give but a few—placing them in more or less chronological order.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.R.H. PRINCESS AUGUSTA OF BAVARIA, IN MUNICH

You have my sincerest good wishes and blessing for your Name-day, and I embrace you all with all my heart.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, AT ST. PETERSBURG

I beg Your Majesty to accept my sincerest good wishes for this day.

Exp. Ebensee, 3/8. 1885.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO HIS EXCELLENCY, COUNT ANDRÁSSY, AT
TISZA DOB

My heartiest wishes for the New Year.

F.

Exp. 1/1. 1878. 9.30 a.m.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO H.I.M. THE EMPRESS OF
RUSSIA, AT ST. PETERSBURG

Will Your Majesty permit me to offer my heartiest good wishes on this auspicious day?

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.H. ARCHDUKE KARL LUDWIG, AT
ISCHL

Heartiest thanks for your good wishes which I reciprocate most sincerely on behalf of Franzi (Franz Ferdinand.—*Ed.*). There can be no objection to your journey to Regensburg.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER-PRESIDENT, PRINCE AUERSPERG,
IN VIENNA

I beg you to convey my heartiest thanks to the House of Deputies for their good wishes.

FJ.

Exp. 3/10. 1877. 6.30 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO THE COUNCILLOR OF STATE, FREIHERR VON
BRAUN, IN VIENNA (cipher)

Please be so good as to dispatch a telegram, in my name, dated from Ischl, to the Empress Eugénie, expressing my sincerest sympathy at the death of the Prince Imperial.

FJ.

Exp. Ischl, 20/6. 1876. 2.45 p.m.

Telegram in Cipher

TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY

In case that Your Majesty should not yet have expressed Your condolences at the death of Prince Napoleon, may I suggest that—according to the precedent set on the occasion

THE EMPEROR'S CONGRATULATIONS 237

of the death of the Emperor Napoleon III—Your Majesty's Ambassador in London be advised to proceed himself to Chislehurst in order to express to the Empress Eugénie both in the name of Your Majesty and that of H.I.M. the Empress, the sympathy you feel on this occasion.

ANDRÁSSY.

Reply in Cipher

I telegraphed my condolences at once to the Empress Eugénie in my name and that of the Empress, and have already received a reply.

FJ.

Exp. Ischl, 22/6. 1879. 6.15 p.m.

No. 3. Kaiser V.O.

DEAR COUSIN !

I have been more deeply grieved than words can express at hearing the tidings of the heavy blow which Fate has dealt you and the Royal House of Bavaria. Far be it from me to think that any words of mine can bring you consolation, yet do I feel impelled to write and express my sincerest sympathy, as also the heartfelt wish that God may support you, giving you strength to bow to His Will and bear the inevitable as you have already so often proved yourself capable of doing. The reverent emotion evinced when the tragic end of the unhappy King became known will but increase, where his people are concerned, as will also their deep sympathy for his sorely-tried mother. God comfort and protect you ! With feelings of the most sympathetic friendship,

Your sincerely-devoted cousin,

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Vienna, 15th June, 1886.

THE EMPEROR TO H.I.R.H. ARCHDUKE KARL LUDWIG, AT
VIENNA, OR AT REICHENAU (cipher)

I shall be glad if you will represent me at the funeral of the Emperor Frederick, whose death took place to-day. And I shall also be glad if you will convey my compliments to the

new Emperor, since I do not wish to interfere with Rudolph's travels.

FJ.

Exp. 15/6. 12.35.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALŇOKY, IN VIENNA
(cipher)

I shall be glad if you will at once send me the draft of a message of Condolence—couched in French—for conveying to the Heir Apparent, and also that of a friendly telegram, suitable for all occasions.

Exp. Gödöllő, 9/10. 1894. 5.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALŇOKY, IN VIENNA

Pending the time when I shall be able to do so myself, I shall be glad for you to express to Prince Lobanow the deep sympathy I feel.

In Cipher

I intend sending my nephew, Archduke Franz, to St. Petersburg for the funeral, but will not mention this to him until I know your view of the matter.

FJ.

Exp. Gödöllő, 1/11. 1894. 7.10 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO HOFRATH DR. WIEDERHOFER, AT MADONNA
DI CAMPIGLIO, NEAR TRIENT

How are you to-day?

FJ.

Exp. 16/9. 1884.

THE EMPEROR TO THE PREMIER-HIGH-COURT-MARSHAL,
PRINCE HOHENLOHE, IN VIENNA

How is your daughter?

FJ.

Exp. döllő, 22/10. 1884. 7.6 p.m.

THE REIGNING POWER

A KING reigns, but does not govern: . . . "*le roi règne, mais ne gouverne pas*" . . . yet, as we have said before, this fundamental principle of Constitutionalism was unthinkable to Franz Joseph, and his whole life was devoted to systematically opposing anything of the kind so long as his old hands were able to hold the reins of Government. If anyone had had the temerity to try to enlighten him to the effect that his way of governing was anything but constitutional he would have been amazed, not to say indignant. What!—interfere with him in the performance of his duty—the duty of caring for his country—of personally controlling its affairs, personally intervening, making arrangements, ordering this—and forbidding that? Why in what else did governing consist? For Franz Joseph had formed his ideal of all a Sovereign should be in the days of his youth—and at the time of Austria's Golden Age—in the days of his grandfather, the Emperor Franz. Here was for all time his shining example and one which it was ever his ambition worthily to emulate. When he ascended the throne a military counter revolution had just broken the resistance of the *bourgeoisie*, and nothing could therefore shake his confidence in the belief that—powerfully supported, as he knew himself to be, by his army—he, tempering severity with fatherly love, was indeed the Ordained Instrument called upon to watch over and exact obedience from subjects belonging to the most varied Nationalities and ways of thinking, thus ordering matters in the true interests of the people he was destined to govern.

Unpleasant events and disastrous happenings compelled him, it is true, to compromise and put up with formal alterations; but he always fought desperately against anything

of the kind. Yet, no sooner did he arrive at seeing the value of any such change (the attainment of which was ever fraught with so much trouble and anxiety)—than he at once became almost nervously desirous of upholding *this* in its turn against any further change, improvement, or modification—and, if necessary, he would then even take personal command—and should an order have to be given . . . he gave it!

In this fashion his entire reign resolved itself into a persistent muddling of his work, while the distinguishing feature of this whole period is that *each* Party—the Emperor's and the national parties—became firmly convinced that they were asserting their own Will!

Thus the people laboured under the belief that Austria and Hungary were being constitutionally governed, while the Emperor was of opinion that complete Sovereignty had been attained.

None but Franz Joseph would have been capable of so artistic a result; but his powerful personal authority, his tact—and his painful precision, to say nothing of the utter lack of consideration with which he would enforce his commands—all assisted in giving force to the idea. And this was moreover increased by his astounding capacity for work; his power of organization; his memory and his fund of information, to say nothing of that attention to detail, owing to which nothing ever escaped him. He meddled in everything: jealously and authoritatively. In the following letters he indeed seems little less than a Magician, when we bear in mind that he actually managed personally to govern a realm of fifty million souls, and that the very minutest particular was sure to come under his careful supervision.

It is in matters such as these that the Archives furnish the most surprising evidences of Franz Joseph's personal rule.

HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS STAFF OF OFFICIALS

In Bohemia, where at that time constitutional government had not yet been introduced, affairs were under the control of a *Statthaltereii*, and this Chief Official was attached to the army. Taaffe (a former playfellow of the Emperor's) with

whom Franz Joseph stood on very good terms—one reason why he was able to hold the post of Prime Minister for so many years—had become desirous of appointing an Army General to the position of Statthalter—although he had no intention of doing so without securing the Emperor's consent. Franz Joseph on this occasion happened to have similar views, but proposed another officer—one among the numerous military men who constituted his official *personnel*; and the fact that he should venture to do this proves how intimately he was acquainted with each individual member of his immediate entourage.

Cipher Telegram

Handed in, 5 p.m.

COUNT TAAFFE, TO HIS MAJESTY

This Day's Ministerial Council has recommended the appointment of Lieut.-General Jovanovic for the post of Chief of the Statthalterei at Prague, since there appears to be no other suitable Official for this Office. I would therefore ask Your Majesty's permission to speak to Jovanovic on this matter, as without previous conversation no appointment can be made.

TAAFFE.

Reply in Cipher

I would suggest that Lieut.-General Jovanovic, being a General, would occupy an entirely false position as Commandant at Prague, nor do there seem to be any grounds for making a change as far as he is concerned. Some trustworthy and energetic Official would be more suitable. Is there no such person to be found in any of the Government Offices? For my part I would merely mention Lieut.-General Krauss; he is a very clever man; quiet, and a native of Bohemia. He has never taken any part in politics and is no longer actually in the Army. Should no more suitable man be forthcoming you have my consent to speak to Jovanovic.

F.

Coded and expedited on 4/7. 7.30 a.m. Ischl.

SOLDIERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS

Franz Joseph was continually occupying himself with questions concerning persons holding official appointments. And here he had his likes and dislikes. His sympathy was all with the Military men and the trustworthy Civil Servants, while strongly pronounced political minds were little to his liking; yet—whenever the need arose—he was eager to assist his Ministers in finding suitable candidates for any vacant posts.

THE EMPEROR AND KING, TO HIS EXCELLENCY MINISTER
PRESIDENT COUNT SZAPARY, IN BUDAPEST

(in cipher)

Now that the matter is no longer pressing, I should be glad if you would give me an explanation as to why you relinquished your original intention of proposing Hieronymi for the post of Minister of Commerce? He appeared to me to be a more suitable man than Lukacs.

F.

12/7. 1892. 1.10 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER, COUNT SZAPARY,
AT BUDAPEST

I intend to be present when Lukacs takes the Oath at 10 a.m. on Thursday, the 21st, and request therefore that you may accompany him and Tarkovitch [Chief of the Division, whose function it was to attend the administration of the Oath to Ministers of the Crown.—*Ed.*], bringing the Formula of Oaths.

F.

18/7. 1892. 2.45 p.m.

Desider Szilágyi, a typical, and most interesting Hungarian politician, who more than once held the position of Minister of Justice, was one of those with whom the Emperor could never manage to get on. The following message referring to Szilágyi is from the Chief on the Sectional Division, von

Papay, whose business it was, as Referendar to the Chancellery, to attend to Hungarian affairs, and who—in this instance—seems to have been specially commissioned to keep the Emperor informed.

Telegram in Cipher

TO THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE IN VIENNA

Message for His Majesty

Szilágyi's autograph Address handed in this day is in all its essentials far milder than were his verbal utterances of yesterday, and with the exception of some matters which may require further explanation is in no way unacceptable. I am under the impression that he would himself be very ready to assist in rendering his entry possible. The same impression was made on the Minister President to-day, on the occasion of a personal interview between His Excellency and Szilágyi. I hope to translate the Document into German to-morrow and to submit the same to Your Majesty. The Debate on the Army Bill closed to-day, after the new paragraphs suggested by the Opposition had been voted against. Third reading to-morrow.

PAPAY.

Exp. 2/4. 1889. 4.10 p.m.
Budapest.

On another occasion Franz Joseph was greatly annoyed when Tréfort, the highly-gifted and ultra-liberal Hungarian Minister of Culture, was responsible for certain political utterances which lacked that pleasant and colourless tone so agreeable to the Emperor. A Minister who ventured to "talk Politics"! Where would this sort of thing lead to!

THE EMPEROR TO HIS EXCELLENCY AND COUNCILLOR OF
STATE, FREIHERR VON BRAUN, IN VIENNA

I wish to see translations of Minister Tréfort's letter to the Bishop of Szamos Ujvar which have appeared in the Hun-

garian Papers, as well as to be furnished with copies of the originals.

F.

Exp. Gratz, 9/7. 1883. 5.45 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA (cipher)

Tréfort's letter to the Bishop of Szamos Ujvar—as unnecessary as it is tactless—has displeased me greatly. What are we coming to if every Minister is to make known to the world his own political views!

F. J.

Exp. Sauerbrunn, 11/7. 1883. 6.15 a.m.

Amid the difficulties of political life the Emperor was sometimes confronted with the situation of a Civil Servant intruding into politics. He felt that such intrusion savoured of treachery. . . . All the same he had himself later on to accept the situation.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

I see by the papers that District Commissioner von Festeneck has submitted his name as Candidate for the post of *Reichsrat* in Krain: I would draw your attention to the inappropriateness of such a step.

F.

Exp. Ischl, 22/6. 1879. 7.20 a.m.

“ON NO ACCOUNT ANY ALTERATIONS ON THE STAFF”

Changes of any kind whatever were obnoxious to the Emperor, although he was fated to experience one crisis after the other, both in Austria and in Hungary. But, whenever possible, he would himself intervene, so as to prevent the changes he so dreaded.

The following Message illustrates the manner in which he would render crises abortive. It is addressed to the Hungarian Prime Minister Koloman Tisza shortly after that

Minister had assumed office. In reading it we become sensible of the Emperor's pleasure at being able to make a Suggestion by which the danger of a change may be averted, and—as a matter of fact—Tisza did after this incident continue to remain at the head of affairs in Hungary, although he never enjoyed the Emperor's confidence to a very great extent, for the latter always regarded him as a "renegade," who had "come over" from the Independent Party.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA, IN
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

Bitto says about the same thing as does Szlavy, namely, that he is not in a position to form a Ministry at the present moment. I shall therefore be very glad if you and your colleagues will consent to remain in office. I shall expect you here on Thursday, so as to discuss the Speech from the Throne.

F.

Exp. 2/10. 1878.

The following message concerns the quarrel between Hohenwart and Beust, Beust having wantonly broken with his Prime Minister at a time when he was busy making experiments in regard to a Bohemian Autonomy. This affair ended in the dismissal of both Ministers within a short time of each other. But at the moment the Emperor did not want to dispense with Beust, so he simply commanded the Chancellor to come to terms with the Minister President. But the dismissal of Beust, who had already fallen into disfavour with his Master, was euphemistically described by the Emperor as a "Change in the Staff." And this was the *same* Beust whom the Emperor had done all he could to lure away from Saxony, who had been—not only his special Favourite—but his particular "Hope," as long as he still harboured any thought of a war of revenge against Prussia. Yet now, he was no more than "a Member of the Staff," a mere Groom-of-the-Chamber, who only retains his place until "changes in the Staff" proceed without friction.

THE EMPEROR TO HOFRATH BARON GENOTTE, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

For Count Hohenwart

I am in receipt of your Report of the 10th, and shall arrive in Vienna to-morrow morning. An understanding with Count Beust is imperative, since the present moment is by no means suited for any change in the Staff. I trust that you will be good enough to act with both calmness and decision.

F.

Exp. 12/10. 1871.

On another occasion, a crisis which threatened between Tisza and Kalnóky, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was similarly averted by the personal intervention of the Emperor. Here it was a case of the draft of an Address on the part of the Hungarian House of Deputies to the Emperor, and which commented upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs being alluded to as a "Minister of State"—a term savouring of preference. Upon this the Minister of Foreign Affairs had offered to retire: but here again the Emperor succeeded in nipping the crisis in the bud by referring to the ambiguous meaning attaching to the Austro-Hungarian Agreement of 1867, supporting and accentuating the same. It may be that the Emperor at a later date recognized and regretted the mistake he had made when in 1867 he had gone so far in acceding to Hungary's demands for her own rights, for the momentary necessity of drifting on in the same old way only led him into further concessions, and from this crux arose the well-known ambiguity in regard to relations between Austria and Hungary, as well as between the privileges of the Crown and the Constitution in both States.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA, IN
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

I wish to draw your serious attention to the message that Count Kalnóky intended addressing to you last night in respect of the draft of the Address from the Lower House.

The Passage relating to Foreign Politics seems to me to be quite impossible in its present form.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 10/10. 1884. 9.10 a.m.

Telegram in Cipher

dto. Budapest, 13th October. 11.30 a.m.

TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY!

No letter from Count Kalnóky has been received: only a telegram last night. I submissively beg your Majesty to permit me to wait on you at Gödöllő, at whatever hour Your Majesty may command, in order that I may personally confer with Your Majesty regarding the form of the passage referred to, but which I fear is no longer amenable to alteration, yet, with respect to which I believe I can set your Majesty's mind at rest.

TISZA.

The Prime Minister is desired to come at whatever hour may suit his convenience during the forenoon, and to remain to lunch with us at 12.30.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 12/10. 1884. 12.45 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Tisza is much alarmed; for he says that no further alteration can now be made in the draft of the Address, but he assures me that when the Debate takes place he will be ready to give the requisite explanations and thus put matters right again, since it had been a matter of carelessness on his part and by no means intentional. Seeing that I should in no circumstances accept your resignation, as I have the fullest confidence in you, I would ask you to choose between coming to an understanding with Tisza—either verbally or by telegram—regarding the explanations he intends making in the House. In the latter event—which might be more prac-

licable though attended with greater publicity—I would suggest that you should consider yourself as having been called to Budapest by me, and that you will therefore send me a telegram acquainting me with the day and hour of your arrival. The Debate in the House will begin on Thursday.

F.

Gödöllő, 14/10. 1884. 3.20 p.m.

PARLIAMENTARY WORK

We will now give some particulars as to the regular and continuous political work—such as for instance—the Sessions of the Government Council ; the prorogation of the *Landtag* ; the drafting of Laws ; and the Summoning of the Crown Council, etc. ; and we would draw the reader's attention to the style peculiar to Tisza's mode of address, which was much disliked by the Emperor, and that of Taaffe, which was couched in terms far more sympathetic to him.

Please expedite—

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA, AT
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

There will be a Ministerial Conference to-morrow at 2 o'clock, at which I shall preside. Prior to this Ministers will meet for discussion at Count Kalnóky's.

F.

Coded and expedited 15/1. 7.30 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA (in cipher)

I should like to have a talk with you, so will you be good enough to come here whenever convenient to you during the course of the next few days.

F.

Exp. 24/4. 12.45 p.m.

THE WAY IN WHICH DILATORINESS WAS PUNISHED

Franz Joseph was in the habit of giving his conscientious attention to the draft of every Law before sanctioning its introduction. He was also very keen on urging forward any work of such nature and in fact—as will be gathered by the following telegram—ever eager to infect his Ministers with something of his own energy. Lack of punctuality was abhorrent to him; especially in cases where a draft had been submitted so late as to render it impossible for him to devote adequate time to its consideration. And—on such occasions—he punished the Government for its shortcomings by delaying its being placed on the Table. In such matters it was generally the Hungarians who were at fault: for they were the “unruly Schoolboys,” whose manners were never up to the mark.

THE EMPEROR TO THE HUNGARIAN MINISTRY AT OFEN
(in cipher)

I am most anxiously awaiting the decrees touching those supplementary measures for dealing with Clerical affairs in Serbia. For here one blow must follow another, and decisive action be taken.

F. J.

*To be forwarded at once, if necessary—through the Cabinet Council.

F. J.

A copy of this Telegram (in cipher) expedited on 21/8, to the Royal Hungarian Court Camp.

Exp. 3 p.m. 1872.

THE EMPEROR AND KING TO DIVISIONAL-CHIEF VON PAPAY,
IN VIENNA

If the drafts of measures to be brought forward in the Reichsrath only reach me at the very last moment, I cannot possibly deal with them punctually. Will you be so good as to inform the Minister for Commerce that I shall not be able to attend to the measure concerning a Law for Local Railways

for some days to come, and cannot therefore give my sanction for its being brought in to-morrow.

F.

Exp. Gödöllő, 21/10. 1894. 10.20 a.m.

THE EMPEROR'S OBJECTION TO CIVIL MARRIAGES

The Austro-Hungarian Constitution permitted of the Emperor vetoing any legal measure of which he did not approve before it had been actually brought before the House. In the year 1874, a select Committee of the Hungarian House of Deputies had proposed the drafting of a petition for the introduction of obligatory Civil Marriage. At that time the Minister President was busily engaged trying to hush up the scandal that had been raised about the forests situated near the frontier, and Tréfort—naïve, but absolutely honest—had (taking the Liberal Government *au sérieux*) voted in favour of the measure. But as soon as the Emperor heard of this he sent the following telegram to Prime Minister von Bitto:—

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON BITTO, AT OFEN (in cipher)

As I hear that a draft of the Law relating to Civil Marriages has already been brought forward I desire once more to draw your attention to the fact that I shall not give my consent to a legal measure which in my opinion is inopportune, and likely to lead to quite unnecessary complications.

F. J.

Exp. 22/6. 1874.

Upon this Bitto saw to the matter at once: he had the motion withdrawn on the plea that the Government had in any case determined to introduce during the course of the next Parliamentary session a systematically-planned draft of legal measures embracing all clerical institutions and that any measure dealing with Civil Marriage would therefore be included under this heading. And by this means the whole

question was decently buried for the space of the next twenty years: all the same at the end of that period the Emperor had to swallow the pill after all.

Received 5.45 p.m. and laid before His Majesty at 7 p.m., 12/6.

Explanation of the appended telegram sent to us by Prime Minister von Bitto

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY

The Commission deputed to settle the principles involved in regard to Civil Marriages, and on the basis of which principles the said Commission is endeavouring to frame a Law for the consideration of the Government, has been taken by surprise at finding the question set down for this day's discussion. Yet already before the receipt of Your Majesty's telegram I had at yesterday's conference expressed my urgent wish that the question should not be made the order of the day. There is to be another conference on this matter to-day, and I can assure Your Majesty that on this occasion the question will be shelved until the autumn sessions, and by this means its discussion will be frustrated. This is the only way by which measures to which former Governments have committed themselves can be satisfactorily dealt with.

BITTO.

Answer to a telegram I had sent to the Prime Minister. Please return, after careful perusal.

F.

ad acta.

F.

The following Telegram in cipher has come to hand for Your Majesty from the Royal Hungarian Minister, Count Bitto:—

BUDAPEST, 23rd June, 5.35 p.m.

With reference to my telegram of yesterday I would most respectfully inform Your Majesty that at this day's Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies—and in consequence of the declaration made by the Minister—the measure having regard

to Civil Marriages will be deferred until the coming session (no particular form of Civil Marriage having as yet been specified) and the transactions in reference to the relations between Church and State have been deleted from the Order of the Day, being also postponed until the next session.

THE RESTORATION OF BANKING CREDIT

This transaction had to do with the failure of an important Bank : the Bohemian Boden-Credit-Anstalt had been declared insolvent.

Having read this announcement in the papers, the Emperor telegraphed to Prime Minister Count Taaffe, and inquired what steps were being taken to minimize any economic collapse consequent on the disaster. The Minister's reply ran as follows :—

A Ministerial Meeting has been held to consider the advisability of rendering active assistance. The case had been carefully gone into, the conclusion arrived at being that all the Government can do is to approach the bigger Banking Companies, such as for instance, the Austro-Hungarian Bank—which has already been done—so as to give the Bohemian Boden-Credit-Bank and other affiliated Bohemian Banks and Companies the utmost facilities, so that the crisis from which the Bohemian Credit-Bank cannot actually be saved, may at all event be localized.

COUNT TAAFFE.

14/12. 1884.

THE EMPEROR AND THE SLAV NATIONALITIES

Any who have been engaged in writing the History of the Austrian Monarchy have always been mystified as to why there should have been a perpetual "see-saw" between German and Slavonic tendencies in Austria, why, in short, the Emperor should at one moment have favoured the Germans and on another occasion the Slavs. In this matter most of the conclusions arrived at have been erroneous. For, as a matter of fact, Franz Joseph felt as little drawn to the one

nationality as to the other. He simply made use of the various nations over which he reigned, playing them off one against the other, in order to prevent any strength accruing to Constitutionalism, and so that the power of an Absolute Monarchy might be adequately maintained.

His methods of procedure were, however, less obvious in Austria than in Hungary. Here for a time Slav and German interests were allowed to balance one another, to the end that it became possible to be deceived into believing in a free interchange of forces. But we must bear in mind that in Hungary the Magyar nation had held undisputed power ever since the Convention of 1867, while the Emperor seemed to be entirely content that this should be so. And yet, from time to time, he would also take the Hungarian reins of Government into his own hands, as, for instance, in the matter of the richly endowed Serbian Church, and of Croatia, and attend to affairs himself, so as to be in a position—should the necessity arise—of carrying the day against Hungary.

As a case in point we may mention the question of the Serbian Congress called together in the interests of the Serbian Churches situated in Southern Hungary: this was presided over by a Royal Commissioner, empowered by the Hungarian Government. Yet the Emperor had an audience with this Official at which matters of a political nature were discussed.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON BITTO, AT OFEN
(in cipher)

I have seen Huber, the Royal Commissioner, presiding over the Serbian Congress, and from what I can gather he has received no special instructions, and is, in fact, somewhat uncertain as to the Government's intentions. Please let me know whether the original plan is still being adhered to and whether, indeed, the Government has provided against any possible accidents. It is very certain that the Commissioner will need to have some accurate knowledge as to what he has to do, and at the same time the Congress must be made aware that Government knows what it wants.

Exp. 26/6. 1874.

F.

The next letter shows us the Emperor's attitude towards the Slavophile movement. The Young Czechs and the Croatians had sent a message of greeting to Gambetta. This was at a time when Gambetta—fired with the idea of a *Revanche*—was harbouring thoughts of a Russo-French Alliance and a confraternal Latin-Slavonic movement directed against Germany.

OFEN. 7th January.

DEAR COUNT TAAFFE !

I telegraphed to you as soon as ever I had seen the first newspaper reports on the subject of the Young Slav and Croatian humbug about Gambetta, for I felt convinced that this was bound to produce an undesirable effect in some quarters. Nor was I mistaken; for Prime Minister von Tisza was here to-day, and told me all about the worries that have cropped up with regard to the feelings and intentions of the Majority in the Reichsrath, as well as the secret hopes nurtured by the idea of a *Revanche*, and he added a wish that the Government in Vienna might see its way to issuing some official proclamation, against such demonstrations, while at the same time exhorting all to maintain a correct attitude in regard to the question.

I told him that I thought it might be difficult to draw up a proclamation of the kind he suggested, and that such a step might also appear to attribute too much importance to the matter; I promised him, however, that I would bring it once more to your notice. He again alluded to the happy relations obtaining between the two Ministries, in contra-distinction to what had been the case when the former Government at Vienna was in office. He also passed some very derogatory remarks regarding the Vienna Opposition, but did not hide his anxieties in respect to the Czech agitations. From the first I had—and still have—a feeling that something will have to be done so as to stamp out the excesses due to these ultra-Slavs in this Gambetta business, and I can only leave it to you to decide whether to take the line suggested by the Hungarian Prime Minister, or whether—as would seem to me the more effectual method—a more energetic stand should be made against these demonstrations. The *Ban*, to whom I

telegraphed, requesting him to take some action in the matter of that telegram sent by the students at Agram, informs me that the individual who handed in the message has already been identified, and has been under examination, and that he hopes by this means to arrive at identifying others who were also implicated. It is highly desirable that similar methods may be applied in the case of the Croatian Students at Vienna. Indeed, when bearing the German Government in mind, I feel that it becomes most necessary that we should assume a dignified attitude in the matter and that the opinion of the majority in the *Reichsrath* should thus be made plain.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

THE EMPEROR, TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA (in cipher)

I see by the papers that the Slavonic Clubs in Vienna intend holding a Religious Celebration on the 18th March, followed by a Concert and a Banquet on the 19th, in honour of the Strossmayer Jubilee, and that these functions are to be attended by the Slavonic Members of Parliament. I would suggest that—in view of recent revolutionary happenings—any such festivities should be forbidden, if this is legally possible.

Exp. Bpest. 1/3. 1888. 5.30 a.m.

F. J.

Verily, Franz Joseph did not spare the Slavs. And how different the tone when he speaks of his faithful Tirol, even when they played the fool there. Then he instructed Taaffe to throw his imperial and paternal influence into the scale in favour of the Tirolese.

THE EMPEROR TO STATE-COUNCILLOR VON BRAUN, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

For Count Taaffe, at Innsbruck

If possible and if necessary, use my name; telling them not to be up to any nonsense and to drop this mischievous quarrel. If at all feasible, the Parliamentary Elections had better take place before the probable unavoidable close of the *Landtag*.

Exp. 10/11. 1872. 12.25 p.m.

F. J.

Franz Joseph's one abiding anxiety was that order should be maintained. For, somehow, his subjects had a tiresome way of not accepting the greater and smaller events taking place in this world—Misery, National disturbances, and similar happenings—with that tranquil calm befitting good burghers. Instead of which they “demonstrated”! they kicked up shindies and tore their hair. Now, to the Emperor any such tidings of perturbation on the part of the people always seemed to come as a “bolt from the blue”—whether communicated through the official channels, or read in the press. And—curious though it may seem—despite his apparently “absolute” power within the Monarchy, and regardless of the fact that he could “put the fear of God,” so to speak, into every mortal creature among his subjects, his commands, as well as his veto, were not infrequently ignored. For, by the time the Emperor's high decree had reached some remote provincial town, or the parochial commissioner of some Vienna suburb, much of its terror had become dissipated; so that when some ultimate attempt was made to carry it into effect—nothing in particular was wont to result. All-powerful as was the Emperor, more powerfully effective still was the law of inertia which dominated the Bureaucracy.

Still *one* unfortunate Commissioner of Police was on a particular occasion made to feel the full importance of an imperial decree. This was at a time when Queen Natalie of Serbia was visiting the Capital and the Emperor had issued orders that anything in the way of demonstrations on the part of the South Slavs was to be forbidden. On her way to church, however, the Queen was recognized by some Croatian students and at once enthusiastically acclaimed. At this the Emperor lost his patience—and the Commissioner of Police his job.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER BARON LASSER, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

As I find that in spite of my repeated admonitions demonstrations have taken place in Graz against Don Carlos (Alfonso III) I request that I may be furnished with information, both by telegram as well as by letter, giving particulars as to the blame attaching to the Statthalter and the local Authorities

in this matter, and I shall hold you responsible for having the culprits subjected to exemplary punishment. I further charge you to apply every means in your power to prevent any future repetition of such scenes. I should hardly have expected that anything so disgraceful could have taken place.

Exp. in cipher. 29/4. 1875.

FJ.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

On the occasion of Queen Natalie's visit to Vienna, it will be necessary to take severe measures in order to prevent any ovation on the part of the South Slavs. I am telegraphing to Count Taaffe on the same lines.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

(Sent through the Cabinet Chancellery)

I trust that you will make the Chief Commissioner of Police responsible for any ovation that may be got up by the South Slavs and the Slavonic students on the arrival of the Queen of Serbia in Vienna. If necessary, use every measure the Police can bear to bear so as to render anything of the kind impossible. The matter is most urgent.

1888.

F. J.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA (in cipher)

In spite of my strict injunctions the Queen of Serbia has this day been waylaid near the Russian Church, and made the subject of an ovation on the part of the Slavonic population. I shall look for a detailed report from the Chief Commissioner of Police to justify this occurrence, for—in view of other recent events—it would seem as if this official were not fit for his post, and I am thinking therefore of relieving him of it. In two months' time we expect to see the German Emperor here, so that by that date it is highly important that a very different state of orderliness should prevail in Vienna.

1888.

F. J.

THE EMPEROR AS CENSOR

Franz Joseph devoted much attention to reading the daily papers. For, although he was as a rule provided with an excellent summary of the world's news, this did not prevent him from looking through a good many of the dailies himself, and—as we shall have occasion to see—he now and again would call the press to book in matters where he considered his intervention to be necessary. For he knew very well that the press was open to advice—and so he demanded that his Government should assume the rôle of Censor.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, AT
ELISCHAU (in cipher)

Archbishop Sembratovic has at my urgent request sent in his resignation, thus behaving in a suitable and obedient manner. Be so good as to get Count Potocki to bring influence to bear on the newspapers in Galicia, to the end that this affair may not be made a topic for malicious controversy, and that there may be no talk of any triumph having been attained.

F.

In the enclosed copy of the "Telegraf" please note the article I have marked and draw the attention of the Chief Minister of Justice to it. I should also be glad to know what has been done with regard to an article which appeared recently in the same paper.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Munich, 14th September.

THE EMPEROR TO STAATSRATH VON BRAUN, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

For Count Hohenwart

Be so good as to see that the Bohemian papers in Prague are made to cease their outrageous attacks upon Count Beust.

Teth. 26.9. 1871.

F.

Exp. 7.30 a.m.

The following messages deal with events respecting which the Hungarian Minister President had had occasion to forward his report when certain matters had got into the newspapers which were by no means pleasing to the Emperor. Here was a case of a direct duel between the Franz Joseph and journalistic *finesse*! for those "Newspaper men," whose eyes nothing escaped, were indeed anathema to the Emperor. At all his public appearances such gentry had to "lie low," lest he should become aware of their presence; yet despite all such precautions it sometimes came to pass that Franz Joseph spied his enemies!—and when he *did* they were promptly sent about their business.

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT ANDRÁSSY, AT BUDAPEST (in cipher)

In view of the intense excitement prevailing here respecting that well-known publication "Die Presse," I exhort you to see that the Officials of the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce—who are directly responsible—may be severely punished. As soon as I get to Ofen it is my intention to hold an inquiry into the cause of these repeated indiscretions on the part of Hungarian Ministers, since they continue regardless of all the warnings I have issued.

F. J.

14th November, 1874. 2 p.m.

1881

Telegram in cipher.

Budapest.

22nd September. 12.15 p.m.

TO HIS ROYAL AND IMPERIAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY!

Yesterday the District Magistrates gave orders, as the result of the decision they had arrived at, that the Editorial Authorities of the "Egyetértés" must produce the telegrams, and that in the case of their refusing to do so the offices of their paper will be searched. The Editor has now handed over the telegram he had received through the agency of an anonymous letter from Vienna, and declares upon his honour that he has received nothing more. Legal proceedings are

being continued and further inquiries being made as to whether the editorial staff may not in the first instance have sent this telegram themselves to Vienna, so as to have it returned.

TISZA.

FRANZ JOSEPH'S INABILITY TO GET ON WITH THE HUNGARIANS

The Hungarian newspapers in particular were the cause of much vexation to the Emperor. Indeed, they were constantly doing the same thing as our own public organs—namely giving special publicity to affairs concerning the Hungarian nation. But at length the Emperor relinquished all hope of being able to regulate Hungary—in the same way as he had done in Austria. He had never been able to make Hungarian Politicians “toe the line” as did the Austrians; and so in a spirit of reluctant resignation he at last allowed them to go their own ways with certain reservations, for he seemed to have become convinced that he could not help it. Measures which had been taken to quell the risings in Dalmatia were energetically opposed by the Organs serving the interests of the Hungarian Independent Party; the Hungarian Council for the Crown proving in this instance, to be no more than a broken reed. Indeed, it was just what happened thirty years earlier when he wrote to his brother Max about the Italian Courts, complaining that “the judgments tarried.”

(By order of the Crown).
Tel. in cipher.

Exp. 27/II. 3.35 p.m.

VIENNA. 27.II. 1882.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER TISZA, AT BUDAPEST

Although I know beforehand that it will be no good, I still feel impelled to draw your attention to the leading article in yesterday's issue of the “Függetlenség,” No. 57, and to observe that, as Hungarian troops are to a great extent being employed at the seat of insurrection, it seems hardly likely in such circumstances that discipline can be maintained. And here

again I feel obliged to inquire whether it would not be wiser to relieve the present Attorney General, for he appears in no way capable of coping with the situation.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

And in a subsequent telegram he opens his heart to his beloved Taaffe, showing us how bitter are his feelings in regard to Hungary's irreconcilable attitude.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA (in cipher)

In anticipation of the Statthalter's Report, I should like to draw immediate attention to the fact that I consider it imperative for drastic measures to be taken in respect of the Meeting held by students at Lemberg, such a gathering having been in direct contradiction to their Rector's orders. The same applied also to their impertinent resolutions: unless this be done, we may look for similar excesses at all the High Schools. The Government should be able to keep order in at all events *one* half of the realm, even though it should—unfortunately—seem powerless to do so in the other.

F. J.

(cipher) exp. 13/3. 1889. 10.15 a.m.

THE SHADE OF ONE DEPARTED

We have before now had occasion to touch on the peculiar contradictions to be met in the iron character of the Emperor Franz Joseph—a character incapable of rising above the common average, or of freeing itself from the trammels of commonplace trivialities. Should we not say, perhaps, that he was a genius of mediocrity? . . . One such small trait reveals itself in his fear of anything that reminded him of the Revolution of those days, when at the head of the military Reactionaries he had himself ascended the throne. It was an abiding fear which haunted him, and he "saw ghosts" even in those later days when the mere suggestion of a revolution was enough to raise a smile, and when every one was taking the greatest possible trouble (at all events, as far as

external evidences went) to suppress any sign of feeling which might seem contrary to the imperial order of things.

A similar, and quite superfluous panic, seized the Emperor on the occasion of the death of Louis Kossuth. Kossuth died at Turin, on the 20th March, 1884, in perfect clearness and tranquillity of spirit, with that Cassandra-like warning on his lips which he had never been tired of addressing to his own homeland—the Message that Hungary should tear herself free—for that Austria was doomed . . . and if they remained linked to one another, Hungary, too, must inevitably perish.

On the occasion of Kossuth's death the authorities exceeded even the personal wishes of the Emperor and in their officious efforts to quash all attempts in the way of Mass Meetings, became the cause of even greater demonstrations of mourning than had originally been intended. Determined attempts were made to close the theatres and to hang out black banners, while at the funeral, at which no official dignitaries were present, the crowd numbered many thousands. And yet it was long since the Emperor had had any cause to fear the name of Kossuth: it had, indeed, become a mere Symbol and the idea of Independence a mere phrase. For the only classes who really counted in Hungary, the Bourgeoisie and the great Land-owners; the business-men and the Officials, were not dreaming of forsaking Austria. As a matter of fact, they clung even more closely to the partnership than did the Emperor himself! for the narrow bureaucratic union with Austria was the inseparable condition by which Agrarian interests could be served—and the "National Idea" suppressed.

The Peasantry and the Workers preserved, it is true, the genuine revolutionary feeling for independence which Kossuth's teachings had instilled; but these classes had been completely shorn of their rights and the Ruling classes were careful that those beneath them got as little chance of airing their desire for independence as for any other revolutionary longings. The Ruling Classes—and in the last resort it was they alone who possessed any constitutional rights—embellished their political utterances with many high-sounding

phrases about independence. But these phrases were quite innocuous, and would indeed have long ceased had not an ill-disposed nervousness in more exalted quarters lent them a certain amount of life.

For these mendacious phrase-mongers turned the Emperor's fear to whatever profit they might see fit—to deprive the National minorities of their rights and at the same time enforce the power of the Monarchy, to exact concessions on the Question of Defences, and the profits of the great Land-Owners in all matters connected with the Policy of the *Zollverein*. They were assisted in achieving all these ends by dangling before a narrow-minded and nervous Emperor and his equally nervous and consequential High Officers of State the vision of an actually non-existent bogey.

To give an idea of the ridiculous length to which the state of things could go we have included among these specimens of official correspondence a message sent by Ladislaus Szögyény-Marich, at this time Austrian Ambassador in Berlin. There was in that city a Hungarian *Verein*, or kind of Dinner-Club, supported by the better class among the Hungarian residents. But its aims and its behaviour became suspect, so that ultimately with its noble President it was drawn into the net, in connexion with the events taking place at the time of the death of Kossuth. The speed with which Diplomatic channels brought these things before the Foreign Minister together with a confidential message to the Emperor who had busied himself personally in the matter, may serve to give an idea of Franz Joseph's weakness on this point and the manner in which this was exploited by the Monarchy.

SZÖGYÉNY TO KALNÓKY, AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY

Confidential.

BERLIN, 31st March, 1894.

DEAR COUNT!

As I had the honour to inform your Excellency in my letter of a few days ago, I have hitherto been able to prevent any Kossuth demonstrations being arranged by the Hungarian Club in this city.

This has however been by no means easy, for the majority of its Members are adherents of the extreme "Left"! The President of the Club, Councillor von Horwath, has always conducted himself with much propriety in this matter, and has—until to-day—prevented any expression of partisanship on the part of his fellow-members.

But the tidings which came to hand yesterday, to the effect that King Umberto had forwarded his public condolences, would seem to have made them all lose their heads; for Herr von Horwath as well as General Consul Flitsch, have since called on me, to insist on the necessity of their club taking part in the funeral celebrations. They talked of sending a deputation; of a Memorial Service in the Protestant Church here; of a telegram of condolence being forwarded to the sons of the deceased, and so forth.

General Consul Flitsch wished to impress on me the desirability of acquiescing in view of future possibilities, while Herr von Horwath, who—so far—has been the only person in a position to quell the more turbulent spirits among this company, seems no longer capable of asserting his authority. I pointed out to both gentlemen that—in view of the position the Honorary Presidentship of the Club being held by the Imperial and Royal Ambassador—none of these testimonies of sympathy could be considered. Herr Flitsch and Dr. von Horwath thereupon bowed to the inevitable, yet begged me to place no obstacle in the way of the latter—as President of the Club—sending a wreath to the funeral at Budapest—particularly desiring that his name might be printed on the ribbon attached. Yet, finally, this project too was dropped, and it was decided that no demonstration of any kind should take place on the part of the Club. I should not omit to state that it was principally due to the manner in which my efforts were supported by Dr. von Horwath that it became possible for these suggestions to be thus amicably set aside.

Trusting that Your Excellency will accept the expressions of my regard,

I am Yours—

To His Excellency,
Count Kalnóky.

SZÖGYÉNY.

To this statement, emanating from a responsible, faithful and greatly-concerned Ambassador, and duly laid before the Emperor, is appended a pencilled note, written in Franz Joseph's own hand:—

“Be so good as to privately acquaint the Ambassador with my satisfaction. It might later on be possible to do something for Councillor von Horwath.”

FJ.

(in another handwriting)

The above was replied to by letter on 7. IV. 1894.

Thus the Dynasty had once more been “saved” by an Ambassador, while the President of a hole-and-corner dining club had achieved immortal merit.

THE EMPEROR'S IDEA OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Emperor, as may be seen, was ever taking the initiative. He interfered everywhere even to the extent of removing judges and other high Officials from their posts. One might almost declare that no bridge could have been built in either of his realms without his having in the first place been acquainted with the design. And yet, any Government not over-burdened with scruples found it by no means difficult to “do business” with the Emperor, for he was in every way most amenable to all concerned. In dealing with Franz Joseph there was no fear of caprice or surprises let alone such incalculable capers as were common to Emperor William II.

It was his habit to talk over and inquire into everything; to inform and advise. And this was his usual mode of procedure not only when dealing with Taaffe—to whom the following telegram is addressed, and who happened to be bound to him by closer bonds than any of the rest—but it was so even where his Hungarian Government was in question, for whose members he had but little real liking, and it was in *this* particular trait that *his* “constitutionalism” became evident. His correctitude allowed of no exceptional treatment, that is to say, of course, so long as he intended retaining the services of the parties concerned. And—if he meant to

get rid of them, he knew how to do so in so peremptory a manner, that his tactlessness on such occasions amounted to positive cruelty. Such were the methods by which he was wont to indicate a final *congé*. . . .

TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Would there be any objection—from the Ministerial point of view—were I to visit Vorarlberg, and then return by way of Innsbruck? I should then go there early in August. I am coming to Vienna next Saturday.

F.

Ischl. (in cipher) Exp. 16/7. 1881. 5.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR AND THE HOUSE OF MAGNATES

In the year 1884 a new legal measure was introduced in Hungary by the House of Lords, whereby it was ordained that "hereditary Magnates" who were not in the possession of hereditary acres, should in the future be excluded from the Higher Chamber of Legislation. Now the Emperor was averse to any step being taken which was bound to exclude men whom either he or his predecessors had raised to the peerage, and he therefore indicated to Magnates who happened to be either soldiers or courtiers, and therefore dependent upon his pleasure—that they were to vote neither "for nor against" the measure.

Koloman Tisza was unaware of this, and it was not until the behaviour of General Edelsheim-Gyulay, commanding the Cavalry regiment at Budapest, arrested his attention, that his suspicions were aroused. Finally the Emperor himself explained the matter to his Minister President—doing so too not without a certain touch of satisfaction.

(sipi)

To-day 11/1. 1884. The following cipher telegram to hand from Prime Minister von Tisza to His Majesty. (3.20 p.m.)

Universal surprise was occasioned at yesterday's sitting of the Chamber by the absence of Baron Edelsheim, who on the

first reading of the new Bill had voted in its favour. The Baron pleaded as an excuse that he had been detained on important military duties, but this excuse meets with little credence, and those who on former occasions have been guilty of misusing Your Majesty's august Name have also been known to tender similar excuses. Should Edelsheim persist in withholding his vote this doubt will become general and should the bill then not go through, the opinion will gain ground—although of course erroneously—that the measure decided on by the Government has been brought to naught in deference to Your Majesty's wishes—a result which must have incalculable results for the Ministry. In these circumstances I would beg of Your Majesty to permit my persuading Edelsheim to attend the Chamber to-morrow and until the decision and to vote for the Bill.

TISZA.

The reply, written in his Majesty's own handwriting, is enclosed with the above letter.

HAWEREB, II/I. 1884.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER VON TISZA, IN
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

I was surprised to find that Baron Edelsheim had given his vote on the occasion of the first reading of the Bill, as he does not usually attend the House of Magnates. I have now given him to understand that in this case it is my wish for him to absent himself, as any sign of partisanship on the part of military men in active service would seem highly improper, more especially in the case of a man of Edelsheim's position. I have for similar reasons also refused leave of absence to F.M.L. Prince Windischgrätz, who was desirous of attending in order to vote against the Bill, and I have forbidden Count Hunyady, who also had intended voting against it, going to Budapest. As far as the Captain of the Guard and Vice-Admiral Bombelles are concerned I have merely let them know that it is my wish that they should abstain from voting.

I have informed the native members of the Conservative

Party, who are not landed proprietors in Hungary, that I regard their attendance in the Upper House as unsuitable, and this has had a good result. I was unable to do anything more, but believe that by these means I have fully vindicated my impartiality.

F.

(in cipher) and expd. Hd. 11/1. 1884. 6.20 p.m.

THE DEFENCE ACT

The following letter—one of a series on similar lines—may give some idea of the way in which political work was conducted both in Austria and in Hungary, with the dismissals, crises, and other incidental excitements which were continually going on. In Hungary the Emperor had, as we have already observed, given up attempting to enforce his will regardless of consequences—and now did no more than merely reserve his right to interfere in particular instances and in affairs where his wishes would brook of no denial. This was particularly the case where Army matters were at stake, and here his fight with the Hungarian House of Deputies lasted on up to the time of his death. In questions which touched the interests of the realm he would stand no nonsense.

THE EMPEROR TO FINANCE MINISTER VON SZAPÁRY, IN
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

The Budapest papers report that no definite understanding has been arrived at by the War Office in respect of the reforms in the Military Penal Code. Since I, as Supreme War Lord, am alone answerable for the final decision, I request that no opinions on the subject may be publicly expressed either in the Plenum or at the Parliamentary Committee Meetings.

F. J.

Exp. 8.45 a.m. 26/4. 1892.

The questions concerning the Military Penal Code and the Defences gave rise to many decades of unrest, coupled with disturbances in Hungary while—to the Emperor's great chagrin—no Government seemed equal to achieve a final

settlement. The consequence was that encounters between the Military and the Civilian Population were frequently taking place, and the following telegram sent by the Emperor throws some light on the hidden causes at work on at least one of these occasions.

The Hungarian Deputy and Member of the Independent Party, Gabor Ugron, had come to words with an Army Captain, and when challenged by the latter had refused to give him "honourable satisfaction."

In this letter the Emperor's tone amounts almost to a threat in its demand for the Officer in question to be granted the satisfaction which in the circumstances he regards as right and proper. Yet this episode also ended as did so many others—the Officer being transferred and receiving promotion. Ugron and the Opposition were more inclined to see in all this a victory for their own party . . . although the Emperor for his part felt convinced that he had secured the complete vindication of the Officer's honour, while, no doubt, the gallant Captain felt equally satisfied.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT SZAPÁRY, IN
BUDAPEST (in cipher)

I am in receipt of your report and telegram referring to the Ugron-Uzelac incident and am satisfied that Minister Fejervary (Honved-Minister.—*Editor*) should have withdrawn his resignation. In consequence of the behaviour of Ugron's friends and of the unchivalrous expressions used by the Deputies at their Meeting, Captain Uzelac has not been accorded the satisfaction he demanded for the insult put upon him by Deputy Ugron. The incident is therefore by no means closed, and may, indeed, lead to further and more unpleasant consequences should the gallant Captain continue to be denied honourable satisfaction. I must therefore beg you most earnestly to take steps in the hope of bringing about a satisfactory issue, since, should this not be done, I must myself seek to rehabilitate Captain Uzelac in the eyes of his fellow-officers.

F. J.

THE EMPEROR HAD A RIGHT TO VOTE

Owing to the peculiarities of the old Austrian Constitution, the Emperor, in his capacity as a great Landed Proprietor, enjoyed the right to vote in the Assembly of Great Land Owners. For a time the vote seems to have been registered on his behalf by the Administrator of the Imperial Estates. At length, however, the Emperor came to the conclusion that it was hardly compatible with his dignity to vote for his own Deputies. Accordingly, after he had on two occasions been worried by questions on the subject, he lost his patience and wrote—“*I shall vote no more!*”

No: 513. 1871.

Präsent: 5. Dec.

Exp. 10/12. Dec.

After a preliminary talk with His Excellency, Prince Auersperg.

1207 corr. 1871.

999 corr. 1876.

740 corr. 1877.

665 corr. 1876.

Statement:

Management of the entailed Family Estates: 3 Dec. 1871.
No. 5098.

We would be glad to know Your Majesty's Commands with respect to the vote to be registered at the Reichsrath Election as well also at the elections for the Landtag in Mähren and in Upper-Austria.

The Management of the Entailed Family Estates are anxious to be made acquainted with Your Majesty's commands whether—and to whom—Authority should be given to vote for a Member of the Group of Great Land Owners of the Kingdom of Bohemia who shall represent that body in the Reichsrath—the right being Your Majesty's in your Capacity as the Owner of Bistrau and—where the elections for the Landtags of Mähren and Upper-Austria are in question—as Owner of the Family Estates of Mattinghofen, Göding and Pawlovitz. We therefore beg most earnestly that Your Majesty will make known to us Your wishes on the subject.

The Emperor wrote from Salzburg on December 9th to say he had resolved not to exercise his vote, but further correspondence ensued and provoked the final reply.

I should have thought that after my decision of the 9th December, 1871, no further inquiry would have been deemed necessary. *I will not vote!*

FJ.

Count Wruba has been made acquainted with Your Majesty's decision by Secretary Pokorny.

HOFFER.

19/4. 1872.

AD ACTA!

No: 817.

From the Royal Hungarian Telegraph Office.

Telegram

Handed in at Banjaluka, on 28th September, 1884, 11.40 a.m.
Arrived at Gödöllő, 28th September, 12.40 Noon. . . .
Received at Budapest, 29/9, 8 a.m.

TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY!

In despair at the fate of our child and bowed down with grief and sorrow, we aged parents venture to implore mercy for our eighteen-year-old son, accused of murder, and who—having been found guilty, by a Military Court Martial is, according to report—to be executed here at Banjaluka tomorrow. We the seventy-year-old parents beseech that Your Majesty may in the kindness of Your heart spare our child, causing him to be brought before and sentenced by a Civil Court.

MATO and ANDJA LUKIC.

By our Supreme Command.

Ad Acta. 29/9.

THE EMPEROR IN HIS RÔLE OF DIPLOMATIST

WE have already become acquainted with the Emperor in his capacity of diplomatist. In his youth he from time to time conducted the Foreign Policy of the Monarchy single-handed, while he also took part in the work of the Foreign Office, as well as attending to the contents of its numerous documents. Indeed Franz Joseph possessed quite special gifts for solving questions of detail, and knew the *argot* of diplomatic intercourse better than any Embassy Official, being a past-master in the use of every delicate shade of expression. Indeed, his particular aptness for polite forms of speech stood him in good stead here also, and so the twists and turns and gradations he knew so well how to use became equally applicable when devoted to the arts of diplomacy. It may seem astonishing, but the Emperor, who might have been such an excellent Army Officer, would assuredly have made an equally efficient Foreign Office Clerk. How far he may have succeeded in the rôle of a politician in judging the main stream of world-events, also what precise worth may attach to his work as a soldier, in as far as strategy and Military science are concerned—are all matters upon which History will have to say the final word.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

Papers which have now come into our hands furnish the complete solution of a certain diplomatic question—the Recognition of the Spanish Republic. After a period of social revolution, recalling the French Commune, Spain had remained for months under the Dictatorship of Garreno. Now, Bismarck had become very anxious to bring about the official recognition

of the Spanish Republic, mainly so as to establish Germany's own prestige and incidentally give the Carlists a lesson for having executed a certain German officer, Captain Schmid. There was however some anxiety lest this diplomatic step should lack support in other countries, especially as the Tzar Alexander had already made it clear that he did not wish to recognize the Spanish Republic. The Three Emperor Alliance was still in being, added to which, Andrassy and Bismarck stood on very friendly terms to each other—a condition of things which was preparing the ground for the subsequent Triple Alliance. Now, little as Andrassy himself was interested in this Spanish business, he was loth to see Bismarck forced to occupy an isolated position in the matter of that country's official recognition, and he therefore persuaded the Emperor to take the same point of view. The result being that the recognition of republican Spain was endorsed by all the other Powers, with the exception of Russia, while Bismarck was relieved from an awkward position.

The telegrams interchanged between the Emperor and Andrassy in this connexion are full of interest, revealing as they do the former's reluctance in the matter and how little cordiality he really felt for Germany and Bismarck, despite all outward show of friendship. Equally interesting are the sophisticated reasons advanced by Andrassy for the purpose of persuading the Emperor—as the Emperor's comments on these documents themselves will show:—

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT ANDRÁSSY, AT TÖKE TEREBES
(in cipher)

In any case I shall delay coming to a decision upon the question of the Spanish Recognition until I have heard your views on the subject. You will gather from the Prussian Note—which is but an indifferent production—that the wish entertained is for definite and collective action on the part of the Maritime Powers; and it therefore strikes me as dangerous to embark on a step—in however good company—which might easily lead further than is compatible with the interests of the Monarchy. I cannot but think that in such a case it would be more honourable and better in every way

to be consistent and to stand alone. Indeed, I fail to see that there is any object in this recognition, since no *provisos* have been put forward such as are the usual precursors to a step of this kind; seeing also that the consolidation of the present Spanish Government cannot be of the slightest interest to us. In fact, this Prussian undertaking appears to me to be so mistaken and panicky that I feel very great reluctance in having anything to do with it.

Exp. 11/8. 1874. 3.30 p.m.

F.

Telegram.

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO HIS IMPERIAL AND APOSTOLIC MAJESTY, dated Töke Terebes.

11th August, 1874. (in cipher)

The German Note was received by me yesterday. Its sophisms and far-fetched conclusions have amazed me beyond all measure. It seems a somewhat cynical platitude to talk of appealing to the humane disposition of Emperor Alexander. If the motive is due to the murder of Schmid, then, of course, the whole business concerns Germany alone.

This fact
has long
been
known.¹

But should it be one of common interest, then the reasons now obtaining against such a step are as important as any that have hitherto been held. And yet—on mature consideration—I cannot give an entirely negative reply. Our task is not a pleasant one; but of two evils we must choose the lesser. Apart from the attitude assumed by the Powers—one which I had already foreseen—my reasons are as follows:—A second-class Power is at liberty to withhold its consent in the case of a European *fait accompli*, should it choose to do so, as a matter of principle, even if its protest have no effect. But a Great Power can only do this when definitely sure of achieving its ends. And so, before I can advise Your Majesty as to the attitude it would be most desirable to take, I feel that I must raise the following question:—can such a standpoint be maintained throughout? And, in view of the European Constellation now seen abroad, as well as remem-

¹ Marginal note in the Emperor's writing.

bering the opinions held among the Delegations at home, I feel bound to reply to this question in the negative. Were we now to refuse this Recognition, I should desire that we should observe the same policy with regard to the Delegations. Should we decline, and remain isolated, Count Bismarck will signal a victory . . . but if Austria and Russia join, Bismarck's Note can claim for itself no particular success, indeed—it will be taken to imply a retreat and the conservative tone of the Note will be taken seriously. Bismarck's reason for taking this step is his desire for popularity: but it would be a mistake to forward the popularity of anyone whose influence is a thing to be feared, and Bismarck will find no laurels where he intended looking for them, as soon as ever two powers take part—for then the step will be accounted as a sort of conservative half-measure. Yet it would be a decided mistake—as both the Note and the correspondence dealing with this matter would seem to imply—should there be any attempt at active interference on behalf of the Spanish Republic. A step such as this, taken by us, would of course be sure of success: and I venture to think that neither England, France nor even Russia could then be persuaded into interfering with Spain's internal Policy, after such Recognition had once taken place. For this reason therefore, the Power which decides against further intervention will not only be preserving the Peace of Europe, but by taking this liberal attitude, makes use of equally efficacious weapons. I would favour Spain's recognition—subject to certain reservations: what enables us to take this attitude is due to the fact that Germany up to the present has always recognized our right to priority in regard to those Near Eastern Questions which so closely affect us, frankly acknowledging our superior claim to consideration. We can, therefore, without loss of dignity, allow Germany now to take a step where Spain is concerned—as long as this step does not exceed certain limits, and can in any case harm none but Germany herself. Yet, before asking Your Majesty's consent to such an answer, I think it might be as well to make certain confidential inquiries in Berlin, so as to ascertain

as far as
the fulfil-
ment of the
promises.¹

¹ Marginal note in the Emperor's writing.

whether the Government there would still view this step with favour should it be deemed desirable to limit the undertaking to the Great Powers, providing the present Spanish Government with Credentials, in order to strengthen its position, while postponing the actual recognition of the Republic until such time as Spain shall have made her status legally secure.

This proposal might then also be communicated to St. Petersburg, and be made the condition binding on all the Powers.

I would beg that instructions may be forwarded to me here, but in the event of Your Majesty requiring my presence in Vienna I should be glad of telegraphic instructions to that effect, and will, in that case, leave by the next train.

ANDRÁSSY.

FERDINAND OF COBURG

Ferdinand of Coburg, as is well known, served as a lieutenant in an Austrian Hussar Regiment before he—with the support of Russia—ascended to the Bulgarian Throne. The following letters from Franz Joseph illumine the more intimate history of the coming into being of that Principality. The Emperor had maintained a somewhat constrained attitude in regard to Ferdinand's wishes, though it was not until after the latter had retired from the audience accorded him that Franz Joseph suddenly bethought him of giving the Foreign Minister instruction to inform the Prince that—before he assumed the position of Prince of Bulgaria—he would have to relinquish his rank in the Austrian Army.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA (in cipher)

I am in receipt of your communication of yesterday's date. I shall be glad if you will inform the Prince of Coburg that I have duly received his letter and thank him for the same, but that in view of any false impression which might possibly arise I feel that the present is hardly an opportune moment for him to come here. As to the standpoint taken by me on the question I would refer him to your interpretation of it,

since I am entirely in accord with all you have already said to him.

FJ.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Pray do not omit to mention that Prince Ferdinand of Coburg must relinquish his military rank before leaving for Bulgaria.

FJ.

YOUR MAJESTY !

MOST GRACIOUS MASTER !

Since the favour to approach Your Majesty has not been vouchsafed me I take this opportunity for making the following communication in writing. Despite my most anxious and loyal endeavours, it has been impossible for me—in accordance with my earlier statements—to delay further so as to await the sanction of the Great Powers.

I would therefore most obediently make known to Your Majesty, that in order to avoid more serious complications, as also in compliance with the ever-increasing pressure brought to bear by the Nation now desirous of acclaiming me as its Supreme Lord, I have finally and with a heavy heart resolved to go at once to Bulgaria and take over the Government of that country, hoping that ultimately the honest endeavours of this much-to-be-pitied Nation may lead to its securing a legal and secure status, and thus meet with the recognition of the Great Powers. In these circumstances I see myself compelled to relinquish the position I have hitherto held in Your Majesty's Army.

In this moment of grave significance may I be permitted to express my gratitude for the good will Your Majesty has ever been gracious enough to accord to me, laying myself at Your Majesty's feet, and expressing the hope that, should it be my fate to be obliged to resign my new position; I may again enter the ranks of Your Majesty's Army and there end my days ! At this supreme moment, and while, in spirit,

pressing my lips to the Hand of my Imperial Benefactor, I implore the Almighty that Your Majesty's eye may rest in blessing upon the head of him who at one time was his officer.

With feelings of filial veneration and unchangeable devotion for the Sanctity of Your Majesty's Person,

I remain for life with the profoundest respect,

Your Majesty's most faithful,

FERDINAND OF SAXE-COBURG.

Schloss Ebenthal.

7th August, 1887.

SERBIA

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

I shall be very pleased to see King Milan in Vienna, should it be of any use, and if he can be persuaded to take the journey.

I shall be glad if you will come to see me the day after to-morrow—Sunday—at Schönbrunn, in the course of the afternoon.

F.

Exp. 17/6. 1887. 6.15 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

It would be better, at all events for the present, for the Crown Prince not to call upon the Queen of Serbia, especially as he is so soon leaving Vienna again.

F.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Be so good as to send me Queen Natalie's letter to Archduke Albrecht, as well as the enclosures, and let me have your views as to the best way of replying to the same. It seems to me that nothing much can be done, and that it would be just as well not to meddle too much in the matter.

F.

1888.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Would it not be possible as well as advisable to persuade the Queen of Serbia not to approach the Serbian frontier—for it is improbable that they would stand her being there now.
F.

OH! THESE DIPLOMATISTS!

Austria's ineffectual and weak Diplomacy has ever been a subject for public comment and it is significant that even the Emperor himself entertained no particularly high opinion of his Diplomatic Staff. Nor was he without good cause for complaint. In his letters he heaves a sigh over these incompetent diplomatists—and yet, it would never have occurred to him to look for those best fitted to fill the posts in any other *milieu* than that of the highest circles of the Austrian and Hungarian Aristocracy.

The following letter is an instance of one such *cri de coeur*—and a “suitable individual” was found in the person of Szögyény-Marich, who, having served in the ranks of the Foreign Office, was at all events a sound bureaucrat.

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA (in cipher)

If only we had a suitable Ambassador in Berlin, we might influence Caprivi to stand fast both in the interests of our common cause and of our Alliance. As it is, I can only leave it to your own judgment to decide whether it would not be well to make the Chancellor see clearly what the results of his decision are bound to be, doing so either direct, or through Prince Reuss.

F.

Exp. 3 p.m. 18/3. 1892.

THE GERMAN ALLY

PRUSSIA, Austria's erstwhile victorious foe . . . so long under-rated, though favoured by the Fates—the sturdiest fellow of the family, who had so effectually “made good,” was eventually able to become our ally but never our bosom friend. And so Franz Joseph, too, settled down into a faithful and trusty ally of the German Emperor, although the process of so doing meant for him a long and weary period of evolution, and in his heart of hearts he never lost his feeling of cold antagonism towards the German Emperors.

Bearing this in mind it becomes additionally interesting to compare the external and official courtesies and cordial demeanour of the Emperor with the more intimate directions imparted to those about him. For while we hear of his demonstrations of affection displayed for the old Emperor and are told how often he embraced William II, we still are able at the same time to read between the lines, as it were, and note how clearly he holds them to be no more than *parvenus*—people who are inclined to make themselves unduly important, and whom he—in accordance with his true Right Divine—should really bid keep their distance. It is also most instructive to note how the relations of Franz Joseph to Germany and Prussia underwent a change as time went on. The correspondence with the Court of Berlin which we here find preserved extends over a generation. It begins with Frederick William's gushing letter in which he deprecates accepting Imperial Honours, declaring that these should remain rather the legitimate rights of the Habsburgers—and terminates with the theatrical outpourings of William II.

GERMANY'S IMPERIAL CROWN

POTSDAM, 6th December, 1848.

YOUR MAJESTY!

You will permit Your trusty old Uncle to send you a few confidential lines, and I commend the bearer of the same, my brother Carl, to Your Majesty's kind consideration, while at the same time begging you with all my heart to regard the contents of this letter with equal favour. The unexpected changes which have occurred in Austria have effected us deeply—the images of that dear Imperial Couple, of your excellent father and your adorable and unforgettable mother remain ever present to our mind. Yet for my part I must truthfully say that my prevailing thought has been one of blissful Hope, such as you, my faithful Emperor, give cause to inspire.

May the Lord assist! He is ever on the side of the Brave who place their trust in Him—for their work is also His Work. You have before you a tedious road to travel, yet "*per aspra [sic] ad astra*" (as the Motto of the Guelphs says) and great and good deeds have never been accomplished without much arduous labour. Austria and Prussia have both, and almost at the same time, recovered the vigour of which a deadly blow had sought to deprive them, and matters are going forward bravely both here and there. It seems to me as though the Revolution that shook Germany had done its worst, and many a fool and blockhead—both with and without brains—has now found out how bitter is the taste left in their mouths by that much-belauded Enchantress. Indeed, they are now on the eve of discovering that rights cannot be secured except according to a Divine Ordering of things.

Still, there is much to be accomplished yet, before we workers can lay our hands in our laps and rest. Your youth, my dear Emperor, permits of every prospect that you may attain the desired. So far as I am concerned, the future is more likely to fulfil the touching motto of my never-to-be-forgotten Father:—"My days are filled with trouble, yet is my hope set on God." I have now but one thought in mind, where Austria and Your Majesty are concerned. It is summed up

in the urgent, fervent entreaty—"Do not separate from Germany!" . . . for it is my firm conviction that in all German affairs, Austria and Prussia must work together, hand in hand—for Germany needs us *both*. Those temporary German Centres at Frankfurt would fail to recognize this, despite all the contrary assurances of your excellent Grand-Uncle, who nevertheless appears to be unable to curb the wild goings on which are taking place there. Yet, should Austria and Prussia stand united, and—in concert with the Kings and some of the other Great Princes of the Bund—make their voices heard at Frankfurt clearly, yet in a spirit of conciliation, we might succeed in leading Frankfurt to assume a *legitimate* position, for this is, I think, the right expression. But, in order to do so, the first and foremost essential is that Your Majesty and we Kings to whom the lawful sovereignty of Germany, by Divine and human ordinance belongs, should continue the work of constitution-making begun in the Church of St. Paul. And our next endeavour must be to see to it that the Church of St. Paul be not deceived of the oath registered by those who there stood for nine-tenths of Germany, and who are in a position to enforce their word—for in such an event both we and they would be involved in serious complications. Yet, I believe, my dearest Emperor, that ways and means may yet be found and I have commanded Major General, Count von Brühl, to discuss these questions with Your Majesty's Minister, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg.

I think I am in a position to assure Your Majesty with some certainty that the Kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony and Hannover, would in the event of any such procedure, be perfectly ready to stand at our side. In conclusion I would therefore beg Your Majesty to make me the Recipient of Your Friendship as also of your confidence, assuring you that neither will have been bestowed in vain.

The firm and rock-like amity which has existed for five-and-thirty years between Austria and Prussia will, as I confidently trust to God, yet redound to the blessing of Germany—nay, possibly even secure the peace of Europe herself. Inspired by this "noble Hope" I commend myself to the friendship of the youthful and gallant Emperor, upon whom it is to be

devoutly hoped all the crowns which decked his Grand-sire may also rest.

Your Majesty's trusty, devoted, and most-attached Uncle,
as well as (really) good Brother,

FRIEDERICH WILHELM.

THE DRAFT OF FRANZ JOSEPH'S REPLY

May Your Majesty graciously permit me to express words of the deepest thanks to the dear Messenger who has been the Bearer of your loving lines of sympathy and confidence. As to the latter I can only assure Your Majesty that it is my firm intention to do all I can to deserve the same by taking over the heavy duties which have fallen upon me with a brave heart, under the Guidance of the Most High, and I shall ever regard it as a mark of His great Mercy, that He should—in Yourself—have bestowed on me so true a friend—one who in Joy or Sorrow may be equally relied on. Far be it from Austria to dream of separating from Germany: the grand-children of the Habsburgers will never forget the land of their common origin; but it is Germany's own interest which demands that Austria should remain bound to one strong and united whole, for by these means only can Southern Germany count on having a shield—ever ready to guard her against an ambitious neighbour, while at the same time, opening a door to the rich Prospects of the East such as redound to the advantage of German trade, Culture and Emigration. I cannot but fear that the Conference at Frankfurt, where the wild passions and dictatorial influences of the Left do not diminish, may yet prove equal to solving their task in a manner contrary to all endeavours put forward on my part, and, indeed, Your Majesty would seem to have anticipated my thoughts and fears.

Now that it has become evident that a Conference, the birth of which was attended by such wild storms, must be incapable of bringing Peace, Unity, and Reconstruction, it will be for the Governments to take the matter in hand and come to some agreement as to the reconstitution of the country. I trust that our close union may indeed conduce to the welfare

of our common Fatherland and prove a safe guarantee for its continuance. Should Your Majesty permit, Count Brühl will not leave Olmütz for the next few days; he will then on his return, I trust, be able to furnish Your Majesty with the results of his conversations with my Minister, Prince Schwarzenberg.

God support Your Majesty in your truly heroic stand for Law, for Order, and Morality against the passions and endeavours of Anarchy. It is indeed a heavy task to labour in opposition to the aberrations of Public Opinion.

THE EMPEROR ENDEAVOURS TO GET "FULL VALUE" OUT OF ANY GERMAN DEFEATS

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT BEUST

I have read the Memorandum and telegram for Berlin: Would not a too friendly attitude deprive us of any possibilities of coming by guarantees (when Peace supervenes or, in the event of Prussia being placed in a yet more unfavourable position) or possibly of demanding some other compensations? Please telegraph your reply.

It was thus that Franz Joseph, in 1870 and before the days of decisive victory—wrote to Count Beust; at a time when he was far from dreaming what 1871 was to have in store. Austria's attitude during the Franco-Prussian campaign is well known, and it was only the swift and decisive German victories which prevented Austria from seeking satisfaction—sword in hand—for the humiliation of Königrätz. It was not for nothing that Beust had been made Chancellor! Yet Germany anticipated all his schemes by signal triumphs. Beust had to go, and Andrassy, the man who stood for a closer union between the two States, succeeded him. Yet, be this as it may, the foregoing telegram testifies to a remarkable extent that the Emperor had been even more sanguine than Beust. For even Beust's attitude towards Berlin, which we may be sure never went beyond the bare limits of requisite diplomatic courtesy, did not seem to Franz Joseph sufficiently curt and defiant. How terrible, then, must have been the

awakening—one which can at most have been delayed for a few days!

FRANZ JOSEPH MOURNED—WHILE HIS PEOPLE REJOICED

Close on the German Victories there followed—without delay—the reply which was contained in Hohenwart's and Schöffle's "absolute-cum-federalist" effort. What had actually moved the Emperor and the Court to such a step is plainly evident from the tone and contents of the following telegram. The tone betrays the galling wound from which the Emperor was suffering! The time had come for him to relinquish all hope of revenge for Königrätz. And yet it was just on this occasion that his subjects found it in their hearts to rejoice!

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT HOHENWART, IN VIENNA (in cipher)

I see by the papers that in spite of all orders to the contrary, public Victory-Rejoicings are still being held. Is this true? and can such direct disobedience to the Authorities be tolerated?

March, 1871.

FJ.

THE MEETINGS AT GASTEIN

The repeated visits of the old Emperor William to Gastein led to an interchange of numerous political "conversations."

Sometimes the German Emperor would travel by way of Ischl; on another occasion Franz Joseph would go part of the way to meet him, or would visit him there. In the early days of his imperial glory, William I had lost no time in seeking to meet Franz Joseph, and the Triple Alliance was the ultimate outcome of those Gastein interviews.

What self-restraint must not Franz Joseph have exercised while submitting to those embraces from which, indeed, he disengaged himself with as much haste as was compatible with decency. Nor was it without some struggle that he could be prevailed on to grant the half-hours which these

meetings might occupy. All these are matters upon which the following letters throw a particularly strong light.

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT BEUST

If you consider another meeting with Emperor William to be absolutely necessary I shall be ready to go to Salzburg on the 4th or 5th of September, and empower you therefore to make the preliminary steps at Gastein now, in readiness for our next interview, which will, I imagine, in any case be but a brief one.

Exp. 16th August, 1871. 3 p.m.

FJ.

THE EMPEROR TO HOFRATH BARON GENOTTE, IN VIENNA

Be so good as to inform Count Lónyay that I shall arrive in Vienna on the morning of the 22nd, leaving, however, on the 27th for Ischl, as I have to receive Emperor William; also that I shall return to Vienna early on the 30th, and arrive at Ofen of the 1st September. I shall in any case be glad to have a draft on the Speech from the Throne on the occasion of my second stay in Vienna.

Telegram to Count Lónyay,

FJ.

Exp. 19/8. 1872. 3.15 p.m.

Exp. Ischl, 19/8. 1872.
1.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR TO DIVISIONAL-CHIEF VON KÁLLAY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

I intend undertaking a tour in August from which I hope to return to Ischl in time for my birthday; I should therefore be very glad if Emperor William could receive my visit at Gastein on the 4th of August, as I could then continue my journey from there. It would moreover seem to me to be more courteous after the Emperor has been to Ischl so frequently that I should spare him the *détour* this year, by calling at Gastein myself.

In cipher and exp.

FJ.

16/17. 1881. 6.30 p.m.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO HIS IMPERIAL ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND OF PRUSSIA AT BERLIN

Pray accept my heartiest good wishes for this day as also the expressions of my unchanging friendship. Please be so good as to remember me most kindly to the Crown Princess. Your son's visit was a source of great pleasure to us.

Exp. Gödöllő, 18/X. 1882. 6 a.m.

FJ.

BERLIN, 10th January, 1881.

DEAR FRIEND !

When we met for the first time after our agreements arrived at in the autumn of 1879, I told you that these should in essentials not cause any change in the so-called "Three Emperor Treaty," and that Russia would have by some means to be brought into connexion with us, for, that she entertains certain suspicions in regard to our agreement (in so far as they have been made public) cannot be denied, and it therefore seems to me that the moment for a move such as I would suggest has now arrived.

By our agreement of 1879 we have safe-guarded ourselves—in as far as this is possible—against the dangers of a war with Russia, and the direct outcome of this would seem to be that the War Party has lost both influence and prestige, so that the possibility of peace being jeopardized has become sensibly less. Yet I feel that we should not stop here, but should rather continue to work to the end that it may be rendered more remote. For, as you will doubtless agree with me, a war with Russia—even in the event of its being a victorious one—would still be a misfortune which each of us would put off as long as possible. Our countries have nothing to gain by such a campaign, and as peace is the blessing we are at all times most anxious to preserve, we shall both be ready to do what we can to maintain it. It is in this sense that I have since the agreement of October 1879 meditated upon certain careful and amicable measures with respect to our Russian neighbour, such as might serve as precautionary measures against those dangers in the event of which we have

both promised each other mutual support. Now that Prince Gortschkoff has retired my Chancellor has, in the person of the present Ambassador von Sabouroff, found a good medium of negotiation as well as for ascertaining partly through M. de Giers, and partly through Emperor Alexander himself, what guarantees Russia requires and would be ready to give for the maintenance of peace. Prince Bismarck exchanged opinions with Baron Haymerle on this subject in the autumn, and—having found your Minister ready to second these friendly endeavours in the interest of your state—he then, and with my sanction, together with Herr von Sabouroff, prepared a draft which the latter personally presented while at St. Petersburg for the Christmas Festivities.

Emperor Alexander as well as the Heir Apparent have both declared themselves ready to enter into an arrangement of this nature, should my present proposal meet with your favourable recognition. I have therefore empowered Prince Reuss to approach your Government through the agency of Baron Steinach, and I shall indeed be rejoiced should the idea embodied in the note prove acceptable to you.

I regard an agreement of this kind, firstly as a most valuable material guarantee, and further also as a great moral weight in the balance in support of the French Peace, and of monarchical policy wherewith to oppose the disturbing influences now going forward, and which are likely yet further to agitate Western Europe, owing to the republican principles which have spread beyond the frontiers of France. The moral weight of the Great Monarchies—in as far as these can hold together—is sufficient to assure their own safety, and possibly, that of Europe, against the dangers of Anarchy.

In this sense I should be glad of any kind of an understanding between the three powers that might secure the world's peace, and thus defy the various political interests from breaking up the solidarity of the Monarchical System. There are many serious tasks awaiting us in our own countries, for the solution of which peace is absolutely necessary, while the German Empire is by nature a defensive realm; being satisfied with its own condition and only desirous of security so as to further its prosperity.

The political deductions which I therefore draw are the same as those which I am only too glad to know animate you also, so that I feel hopeful that the communications which I am able to make of the result of the interchange of views with Russia may meet with a benevolent reception from you.

May these fresh expressions of my friendship and sincere confidence awaken a response in you!

Your true Friend and Brother,

WILLIAM.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE EMPEROR WILLIAM FALLING FROM HIS HORSE

For a Sovereign—and a victorious and Imperial Soldier, at that—to tumble off his horse is decidedly unpleasant. Indeed, it is one of the most difficult questions which can crop up in the course of Diplomatic relations:—should on such occasions telegrams be speedily dispatched, couched in congratulatory language at the happy escape—or, should the whole incident be tactfully ignored. Here was a knotty point which even Franz Joseph—the Virtuoso of Tact—found himself at a loss how to tackle.

Telegram in Cipher

From the Foreign Minister Count Kalnóky

dto. 30/8. 1884. 12 noon.

TO HIS IMPERIAL AND ROYAL APOSTOLIC MAJESTY

A telegram from the Imperial *Chargé d'Affaires* in Berlin says that the accident which befell the Emperor William when out riding has happily not been attended by any serious consequences and that His Majesty's activities have in no way been interfered with.

KALNÓKY.

THE EMPEROR TO COUNT KALNÓKY (in cipher)

I felt that I really could not telegraph to Emperor William on the subject of this mishap. If, however, in the circum-

stances, you should consider it desirable, then please instruct the Embassy in Berlin to forward some suitable message such as will convey my delight at so fortunate an escape.

FJ.

Exp. Hd. Arad. 30/8. 1884. 2.40 p.m.

WILLIAM II

No sooner had William II come to the throne than the whole business of greetings, embracings, congratulations, laudations, and rejoicings was pursued with increasing ardour, for *this* William was never happier than when wallowing in pathetic utterances, and the official telegrams exchanged seem to echo something of the German Emperor's redundant and exaggerated style, since it was probably deemed *de rigueur* to follow suit. And so we find Franz Joseph doing his best, but here and there a querulous "aside" mingles in the concert of doubtful sincerity.

THE EMPEROR TO PRIME MINISTER COUNT TAAFFE, IN
VIENNA (in cipher)

I see by the papers that Vienna is again agitating about a Torchlight Procession in honour of the German Emperor.

There can, of course, be no question of anything of the kind, and it would therefore be as well to oppose the idea at once, and to keep a vigilant look-out.

Visegrád. Exp. 21/9. 1888. 12 noon.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO HIS MAJESTY THE GERMAN
EMPEROR AND KING OF PRUSSIA, AT GRAVENSTEIN

Heartiest thanks for your kind telegram and for the favour you have shown to my Navy, as well as for the spirit of comradeship with which you welcomed the same and for the distinction bestowed on Karl Stephan. I am delighted to hear that the weather favoured the voyage. Here it has rained so heavily that the condition of the ground has made to-day's manœuvres impossible.

Exp. 4/9. 1890. 5.30 a.m.

FJ.

TELEGRAMS

(I)

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO HIS MAJESTY THE GERMAN
EMPEROR, WILLIAM II, IN BERLIN

Feelings of the warmest friendship enable me to participate in the festive Gathering in your family-circle this day, and I send my heartiest blessings and good wishes to yourself and to your dear sister, knowing that you will be well aware of the sincerity my words would convey.

Exp. Gödöllő, 19/XI. 7 a.m.

(II)

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO HER MAJESTY THE EMPRESS
FREDERICK, IN BERLIN

I beg that you may kindly accept my heartiest good wishes for the occasion of the marriage of your beloved daughter which takes place to-day. May all the wishes which accompany this joyful event bring happiness to the young couple, and may the Almighty give you ample recompense in your children for all the earlier trials you have endured. This wish on your behalf springs from the very depths of my soul.

Exp. Gödöllő, 19/XI. 1890. 7 a.m.

(III)

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA TO HIS SERENE HIGHNESS THE
REIGNING PRINCE ADOLF GEORG OF SCHAUMBURG-LIPPE, IN
BERLIN

From my heart sincerest good wishes for Your Serene Highness's son's marriage this day. May Providence watch over your family and grant the young couple many years of unclouded happiness and blessings.

Exp. Gödöllő, 19/XI. 1890. 7 a.m.

THE EMPEROR TO MINISTER COUNT KALNÓKY, IN VIENNA
(in cipher)

Since Emperor William intends sending Prince Friedrich Leopold there is nothing for it but to say, *yes*: so please

be so good as to ask Prince Reuss to do so *as graciously as he can*.

FJ.

In cipher and exp. Gödöllő, 13/11. 1891. 6 p.m.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA AND KING OF HUNGARY TO HIS
MAJESTY THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND KING OF PRUSSIA IN
BERLIN, AT THE PALACE

Sincerest thanks for the happy tidings, the dispatch of which testify once more to your steadfast friendship for me, and I congratulate you most heartily on the success you have achieved.

FJ.

In Budapest, Exp. 25/1. 1894. 3.45 p.m.

THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA AND KING OF HUNGARY TO THE
GERMAN EMPEROR AND KING OF PRUSSIA, IN BERLIN

Deeply touched, I thank you for having on this day¹ remembered our Unforgettable one. I regard this as but one more proof of your ever-constant friendship.

FJ.

Exp. Budapest, 30/1. 1894. 1.30 p.m.

TO HIS MAJESTY THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND KING OF
PRUSSIA, AT POTSDAM

Many thanks ! I shall be delighted to accept your invitation to attend the manœuvres, which will afford me the pleasure of enjoying your society for a few days, as well as giving me an opportunity of witnessing the performances of your splendid troops.

FRANZ JOSEPH.

Exp. Budapest, 27/18. 1894. 1.19 p.m.

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